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Alia Meets With Delvine, Konispol Residents

AU3011104988 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 30 (ATA)—On November 29, the day of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the People's Revolution, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia paid homage to the graves of the war martyrs and met with the people of Delvine and Konispol, Sarande District. He was accompanied by the first secretary of the district party committee, Syrja Dosti; and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the district people's council, Kosta Kallojeri.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, together with the first secretary of the district party committee, Syrja Dosti, laid a wreath on the monolith devoted to the district martyrs in the name of the party Central Committee. He stayed in the silence and honoured with the fist up in front of the monolith, whilst the national anthem was played. Comrade Ramiz Alia laid bouquets of flowers on the graves of the heros of the people Vasil Laci, Mitro Xhani, and Lefter Talo. He honoured with the first up before the graves of the sons and daughters of Sarande who laid their lives for the happy days we are living.

From there, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to Delvine.

Thousands of people from the town and countryside had gathered in the square of the town.

Heading for the town's center, Comrade Ramiz Alia warmly met with the inhabitants.

In this atmosphere, the rally organized on occasion of November celebrations started. Amidst the indescribable enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. He said among others:

I rejoice to notice at this rally devoted to November celebrations that you have achieved fresh achievements and successes. On this occasion, I convey to you the warmest greetings of the party Central Committee.

Delvine is one of the ancient hearts of the Albanian culture. It has become famous in history. It has become famous owing to the struggle it has waged, its wonderful traditions. There is no important historic event in the country's life where the people of Delvine have taken part arms in hand. On April 7, the men of this city, with waken national consciousness, took up arms and started for Sarande. The Delvine boys since the very beginning joined the party. The party cell in Delvine is among the first in our country. Precisely because of the fact that it was a base of the movement, the party dispatched there since the beginning of 1942 one of its distinguished leaders, Qemal Stafa. Old and young in Delvine was swept over in the partisan struggle.

The zone of Delvine, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, is an example to the brotherhood of the Albanian people with the Greek minority. The Albanian and minority man have been together in will and woe, have shared bread together, and have firmly supported one another in the most difficult situations. The Albanian and the minority people shed blood in the same trench. Mustafa Matohiti and Lefter Talo and many many others, laid down their lives on the same partisan trench, inspiring us for patriotism and selflessness. Our party strengthened and tempered this unity and these militant ties in the struggle for the construction and defence of socialism.

The strength of our society, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, lies in the unity of the people. Owing to this unity round the party, there were attained the victories of the national liberation war, owing to this unity we have coped with hostile activities of the external and internal enemies, owing to this unity Albania has climbed today's heights. Therefore, we must strengthen and consolidate the unity of the people, we must preserve it as the apple of the eyes. We have achieved all these, we built socialism and got rid of class exploitation owing to this unity. In this way we shall continue to march in centuries. This is to the good of the people, to the defence of the freedom and independence of the homeland, this serves socialism, which in the final account is a unity of interests, will and desires of the masses.

Socialism, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, is a result of the work of the society. Our homeland is strong and is advancing precisely due to the great work the people have made and are making, having our heroic party in the forefront of the struggle and socialist construction. People's life in our country is happy, the countryside and town transformed, Delvine and Sarande have been built anew, the coastal zones are planted with citrus fruit and olive groves, Vurg is renewed and the whole of Albania is flourishing, we dedicate all these to the heroic work of our working class, peasantry and cadres.

The party has always shown care of Delvine. Comrade Enver Hoxha himself was much concerned with Delvine. Delvine deserves this care not only for its glorious past but also for its magnificent present.

I am very convinced that you will put the valuable traditions ever more in service of the socialist construction and will make your life more prosperous and happier. It is the desire of the party that in Delvine and everywhere in Albania the people be master of and happy in their country.

The inhabitants of Delvine burst into powerful cheers, expressing the great love for the party, the steel unity round it, the great readiness to march always ahead on the road of Enver.

After the rally, Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the martyrs' graves of the town and paid homage and laid wreath in the name of the party Central Committee.

He was seen off with love by the people of Delvine and from there he went to the "Fitorja e Leninizmit" agricultural cooperative of Konispol, heroine of socialist labour.

Cooperativists, men and women, youngsters and Pioneers of Enver, as well as people from nearby villages welcomed Comrade Ramiz Alia with great enthusiasm. They had a cordial talk with him in the center of the town.

"The people of our cooperative were overjoyed by this visit, this is a great honour to us," said the secretary of the party bureau of the cooperative, wishing Comrade Ramiz Alia welcome. He then briefed him on the stable and growing results of this economy.

Amidst the applauses for the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. He said among other things:

I felt a special pleasure when the cooperative of Konispol was awarded the red banner by the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives for the high and stable results it has achieved over the last decade. Carry this banner always aloft, be always in the front of the work for high results.

Your cooperative claims distinction for stable results and frontal realisation, for the harmonious development of agriculture and livestock, of the lowland and highland.

Over last 7 years alone, the income per hectare in your economy have been 1.5 times higher and as much higher have been the income per labour force and per capita.

The fact that you have raised to 30 per cent the norm of accumulation testifies to the high level of production and incomes.

All these achievements, Comrade Ramiz Alia underlined, are evidence to the high level of intensification, to the untiring and passionate work of the cooperativists of Konispol. But, above all, this development proves of the force and vitality of the cooperativist order, the correctness of the policy followed by the party and testifies to the socialist transformations of the countryside.

The 6th Congress of the Agricultural Cooperatives, which wound up its proceedings successfully recently, treated of extensively these developments. In this forum, the cooperativist peasantry manifested lofty political maturity, consciousness and confidence to undertake greater tasks upon themselves. The congress affirmed the vitality of the cooperativist order, its strength and possibilities to promote production, to revolutionize and emancipate the whole of the social life in the countryside.

With the construction of the Janjar reservoir in the cooperative of Konispol and in other nearby economies soon, over 2500 hectares of land will be irrigated for the first time and irrigation will be improved in 3 thousand others. In this project, the state has invested over 37 million leks, hence the productive factors will be consolidated.

After laying the stress on some questions of the harmonious development of agriculture with livestock, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

The people of the region of Konispol are always distinguished as an industrious people, eager for education and culture. The work in the cooperative is already a great source of income and well-being. The Konispol town has a secondary general and agricultural school.

At the end, Comrade Ramiz Alia congratulated the cooperativists once more for the banner and wished them fresh results.

A delightful and unforgettable moment: Comrade Ramiz Alia handed over to the cooperativists of Konispol the flag of the 6th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives awarded to this distinguished economy.

In the evening, Comrade Ramiz Alia attended the festive concert given in Butrint Theater of Sarande by the artistic group of the House of Culture and People's Creativeness of the district.

People's Assembly To Convene 27 December
AU0312194288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Decree to convene the fourth session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly]

[Text] In conformity with Article 77 of the Constitution, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has decreed:

To convene the fourth session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly on Tuesday, 27 December 1988, at 1600 GMT.
This decree comes into effect immediately.
Tirana, 3 December 1988.
Decree No 7262
For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the people's Socialist Republic of Albania:
[Signed]: Ramiz Alia, chairman; Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Korean Transportation Official Visits

Received by Atanasov

AU0212202188 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Comrade Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Yi Kil-song, chairman of the DPRK Committee of Transport.

They discussed the results of comprehensive cooperation between Bulgaria and the DPRK. Particular attention was devoted to the further expansion and development of contacts in the transportation sector. It was stressed that opportunities exist for further expanding business-like relations in this branch and for the exchange of transportation equipment and technologies, as well as for cooperation in the training of cadres.

Transport Memorandum Signed

AU0312210088 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] In Pazardzhik today Georgi Tanev, minister of transportation, and Yi Kil-song, chairman of the DPRK Transport Committee, signed a memorandum that outlines the main directions for the future agreements connected with cooperation in the field of transportation. The subjects covered include the design and introduction into service of automated control systems, the exchange of leading experience in the repair and maintenance of railroad transport, and the introduction of new technologies and technical solutions.

Zhivkov Receives DPRK, Congo Ambassadors

AU0512102088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] On 2 December Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, consecutively received Ha Tong-yun, DPRK ambassador to Bulgaria, and Henry Jombo, ambassador of the People's Republic of the Congo to Bulgaria, in connection with their final departure from Bulgaria.

The meetings were attended by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Filipov, BCP Delegation Visit Greece

AU0212094988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, a BCP Committee delegation led by Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP CC, departed today from Sofia for Athens. The delegation will participate in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of Greece.

Meet Secretary Florakis

AU0312194388 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Today in Athens Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, received the BCP delegation led by Comrade Grisha Filipov that is taking part in the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Communist Party of Greece.

During the conversation it was emphasized that the traditional fraternal relations between the two parties were an important factor for deepening and expanding Bulgarian-Greek relations and for strengthening peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation in the Balkans.

The meeting, which took place in a warm comradely atmosphere and was marked by a complete unanimity of views, was attended by Georgi Karamanev, the Bulgarian ambassador in Athens.

Lukanov Sees EEC Cooperation as 'Challenging'

AU0212142688 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 30 Nov 88 p 8

["Statement" by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria and chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee, on measures to be taken to follow up on the joint declaration on establishing official relations between CEMA and the EEC signed in Luxembourg on 25 June 1988, made to ANTENI and prepared for publication by Nadezhda Kabakchieva: "A New Challenging Task"; date and place not given]

[Text] The CEMA-EEC document [signed in Luxembourg 25 June 88] serves as a confirmation of the new trends in Europe. I fully corroborate the importance of this act. The concept of a common European home reflects the rising hopes and the changes taking place. New tempting opportunities are opening up for us in all spheres of life, especially in the field of working cooperation. However, it will prove to be absurd if we go beyond general assessments and make proposals for practical actions. This is not only because we will face intellectual, legal, and ideological barriers and prejudices that have accumulated over decades, but also because this is a new and challenging task in the true sense of the word. An all-embracing system of economic cooperation may take decades to be created. What is important at the moment is to take the first practical steps toward attaining this goal. We realize that the international process under way both in Eastern and Western Europe is being "spurred on" by objective economic forces and however much it complicates life, it is an inevitable and, in the final analysis, positive development. Both CEMA and the EEC intend to continue their plans for integration and intend to work not in isolation from the world economy, and not at the expense of their mutual relations with other countries and regions in Europe. Yet good intentions alone will not bring about the further

deepening of the economic division in Europe. If we want to be realists, we must start with much simpler things. I would like to emphasize that in such fields as ecology, transportation and communications, industrial and nuclear safety, and energy resources, the concept of a common European home is not a dream, but a reality toward which we must jointly direct our efforts. I would like to say a few words on an aspect of the potential cooperation that is considered rather sensitive. I refer to technological cooperation. This area of production-sharing is still surrounded by a lot of myths and unrealizable desires. Some politicians and business representatives believe that the West is rendering an immense service to the socialist countries by expanding the technological cooperation with the East. At the same time, it is widely recognized that in certain fundamental fields connected with technology's future, not only the Soviet Union, but also the other socialist countries possess many assets: millions of scientific workers, long-standing traditions in creativity—all this forms socialist Europe's contribution not only to the European, but also to the world fund of scientific and technical knowledge. Of course, production- sharing will considerably speed up the application of the new technologies in our countries; it would be hypocritical to deny this. However, it would be a very serious mistake to create a negative psychosis on this basis.

The issue here does not only concern technological cooperation today, but rather a pledge for the future. If Europe succeeds in integrating its immense intellectual, technical, and scientific potential, it can take a leading role in the world in the development of science and technology. The two programs of the EEC and CEMA, namely "Eureka" and the program for scientific and technical progress, are characterized by similarity in content. This appears strange only at first glance: I think that no one has seen the homework done by the other community. The explanation is that we are reaching similar answers to similar questions. We all agree that the human factor is gaining increasing importance in business. From this viewpoint, the changes in East-West economic relations are becoming more and more evident. Furthermore, the direction of these changes, despite ideological differences, is similar. We are witnessing serious efforts toward decentralization and reducing excessive administration, and observing the current formation of a new type of economic manager, whom I would call a socialist businessman.

An all-embracing European system of economic cooperation, in which every businessman in every corner of Europe feels himself to be at home in regard to customs tariffs, trade services, and taxes—this is the dream. However, let us remember that dreams have formed the basis of many important historical changes.

Sychev Speaks on Change in EC Relations

AU0212142788 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 30 Nov 88 p 9

["Statement" by Vladimir Sychev, secretary of CEMA, on measures to be taken to follow up the joint declaration on establishing official relations between CEMA and the EEC signed in Luxembourg on 25 June 1988, made to ANTENI and prepared for publication by Nadezhda Kabakchieva: "A Qualitative Change"—date and place not given]

[Text] We have a precise picture of the "political corridor" and of the conditions that support East-West relations. We have managed to remove the atmosphere of distrust and the delays, so that we are now able to think about our good mutual relations in the future. Recent months have shown that we can maintain a working dialogue and that we can utilize one and the same tools, set up joint enterprises, and prepare the ground for the next stage of development. This new basis also creates a new standard of relations.

From now on, we must not forget that the entire course of history also affects world trade. In the past, we failed to make enough use of the available preconditions and were unable to view the future correctly. Now, through the detente in the fields of economic relations and scientific progress, the strategy of exchange is already developing. What are the specific features at present? We are introducing new technologies with increasing speed, we have achieved growing dynamic development, and are continuously improving production methods. All this requires flexibility on the part of the leading cadres. Failure to adequately participate in the world market and in world economic relations is adversely affecting the EEC.

What do I think should be done to continue the line of detente? First, we have to take account of all the factors that affect the mutual trade relations between the East and West. This should not be a bureaucratic list, but a list of specific tasks with which everyone in his own country should concern himself. A document has been signed between CEMA and the EEC, but it was held up for 2 years—too long a time. We must act in a more constructive and businesslike fashion. We should not forget that the joint associations are merely the beginning of freer investment activity. Division of labor in Europe can only be achieved when investments are regulated on a legal, economic, and political basis.

We expect support from the politicians. We must all strive to achieve solidarity, realize a great financial transfer, and make structural changes. In general, we must remain conscious of our responsibility.

Consulations on Human Rights With USSR

AU0112191888 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—From November 28 through December 1, 1988, Bulgaro-Soviet consultations on the issues of international cooperation related to the human rights were held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Soviet delegation was headed by Mr Feliks Stanevskiy, deputy-head of the Board of Human Rights and the Humanitarian Issues, chairman of the Human Rights Department at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Soviet delegation was received by Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Policy at the National Assembly, by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy-minister of foreign affairs, by Mr Georgi Stoyanov, deputy head of Department "Foreign Policy and International Relations" at the CC of the BCP and by Mr Lyuben Kulishev, secretary of the Committee on Foreign Policy at the National Assembly and chairman of the Bulgarian-U.N. Society.

Glen-Led PZPR Delegation Pays Visit

AU2811184888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] In accordance with the plan on Bulgarian-Polish exchange on a party level, a working group of the PZPR Central Committee, headed by Stanislaw Glen, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Propaganda Department, is visiting our country.

Yesterday, the delegation was received by Yordan Yotov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee. The guests were briefed on the topical tasks which the BCP has to cope with in implementing the July Concept for the Further Construction of Socialism in Bulgaria. Bilateral cooperation between the BCP and the PZPR was discussed.

The meeting, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Todor Ganchev, deputy chief of the BCP Central Committee Ideological Policy Department, and by Wieslaw Bek, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic to Bulgaria.

Leaders Attend SFRY Embassy Reception

AU2811143988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] On 28 November Milenko Stefanovic, SFRY ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a reception on his country's national holiday. The reception, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Dyulgerov, and Dimitur Stanishev; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; deputy ministers; leaders of sociopolitical organizations; figures from the fields of science, culture, and arts; and representatives of business circles.

Bulgarian-Hungarian Enterprise Established

AU2811184788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 88 p 5

[Unnamed correspondent's report from Budapest: "New Joint Enterprise"]

[Text] Budapest, 25 November: An agreement was signed here on the establishment of a new Bulgarian-Hungarian joint enterprise. Its initiators are the Sofia Construction Scientific-Research Institute and the 12th State Building Enterprise in Budapest. The joint enterprise, which will be named INTERLIFT, will be entrusted with a large amount of building work using the Bulgarian technology of "package lifting panels." The Bulgarian institute will provide lifting installations, while the Hungarian partner will be responsible for the conditions of their exploitation. The basic capital of the enterprise amounts to 31.2 million forint, the Bulgarian share representing 49 percent.

This is not the first time that this highly efficient building technological method has been applied in Hungary. Specialists from both countries began testing it as early as 15 years ago, and the first experimental building was erected in the Hungarian capital in 1972.

Balkan Ecological Conference Set

AU3011203788 Sofia BTA in English 1947 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—The discussion of a draft treaty on the ecological protection of the Balkan peninsula is scheduled for discussion at the second meeting of governmental experts of the Balkan countries, which is to be held December 6-8 in Bulgaria.

The purpose of the meeting is to agree an acceptable document which will be submitted to all Balkan countries' governments for final approval followed by starting procedures for its signatures.

The first Balkan meeting on ecological problems was held in Sofia in mid December 1987. The Bulgarian side presented to the governmental experts of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia who took part in it a draft treaty. It was agreed that the draft should be studied and discussed at the next meeting and that the draft treaty and information about the results of the discussion should be submitted to Turkey, too.

The schedule of the forthcoming meeting, which all Balkan countries confirmed they will take part in, envisages exchange of information on the ecological situation in the Balkans and outlining the measures to be taken for its improvement.

The initiative for concluding a treaty on the ecological protection of the Balkan peninsula was launched by Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, at the 13th Congress of the BCP.

National Assembly Commissions Discuss Plan

AU0212202388 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] The National Assembly Commission for Intellectual Development, the Commission for the Defense of Public Interests and Citizens' Rights, and the Social

Policy Commission discussed the draft budget and plan for the country's socioeconomic development in 1989 at a session held in Sofia today.

It was stressed that both draft documents follow the strategic line of intensifying and accelerating the processes of structural and technological restructuring in our economy for its social orientation.

Special attention was devoted during the debates to the issues of health protection and education, to the production of consumer goods, and to public services and housing. It was pointed out that considerable financial resources will be provided in 1989 for these activities, and that the necessary means and raw materials are available.

The considerations of the commissions and the recommendations and proposals they submitted will be taken into consideration and reviewed during the final compilation of the draft budget and plan, which will be discussed at the forthcoming National Assembly session.

The session of the Social Policy Commission, which was opened and chaired by its chairman Emil Khristov, was attended by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly.

Atanasov Chairs Consumer Goods Supplies Meeting
AU2511203488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] A conference of leaders of economic and trade trusts and organizations was held in Sofia today, under the chairmanship of Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov. The conference discussed measures of the Council of Ministers for improving supplies of food and nonfood goods to the population.

Special attention was given to determining the specific means for satisfying the market's requirements for certain goods now in short supply, utilizing all the possibilities of the national economy.

Specific tasks were imposed on a number of economic trusts, trade organizations, associations, and on the Ministry of the Economy and Planning and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Their leaders will bear the responsibility for fulfilling these tasks.

The chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council was charged with the task of improving without delay the supplies of bread and bakery products to the population. A concrete program (?is to be drawn up) for the production of a range of bread and bakery products, as well as a schedule for stocking the stores and measures for stabilizing [passage indistinct].

The task of effecting a radical improvement in the state of the domestic market in the plan for next year has been set. This is in order to overcome the shortages of certain goods and provide the necessary raw and other materials to ensure the normal operation of the enterprises from the very beginning of 1989.

The State and People's Control Committee was instructed to organize inspections of the main economic trusts and trade organizations with regard to the fulfillment of their obligations to the domestic market.

Danube Ecological Problems Discussed

AU2311175788 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 22 November on pages 2 and 3 carries a 4,500-word "selection of materials aimed at presenting the "Eco-Danube 88" Conference from different viewpoints through the eyes of some of the participants." The 200-word introduction on page 2 explains that the materials on the ecological problems of the Danube stem from the "Eco-Danube 88" Conference, held on board the Danube cruise vessel "Ruse" from 27 October through 6 November. The materials comprise:

On page 2:

the 700-word "Appeal to the Governments of the Danubian Countries" adopted at the above ecological conference;

a 500-word interview with Nansen Bekhar, member of the Managing Council of the "Ecoforum for Peace" movement, by Radost Pateva, entitled: "Territory for Coordinated Actions;"

a 600-word interview with Dometian, metropolitan of Vidin, by Vladimir Raychev, entitled "The Word 'Morality' Has No Plural;" and

a 600-word article by Elizaveta Matveeva entitled "How Sweet Water Is Souring the Sea."

On page 3:

A 900-word report by Krum Slavov on the contributions made at the "Eco-Danube 88" Conference by three Soviet academicians, Viktor Romanenko, Boris Laskorin, and Nikolay Yenikolopov, entitled "The River Mouth Under the Microscope;"

a 700-word interview with Prof Ernst von Weizsaecker, director of the Institute for European Ecological Policy, by Ani Ivancheva, entitled "With What Currency Will We Pay for Nature?" and

a 300-word endpiece entitled "Peace, Ecology, and Life," consisting of short quotations on the need to solve the problems of Danubian pollution from UN Secretary

General De Cuellar's greetings telegram to the "Eco-Danube 88" Conference; and quoting Prof Imrich Daubner, Slovak academician and president of the Vienna-based International Association of Limnologists of the Danubian Countries, and Prof. Wilhelm Holczabek, rector of Vienna University.

The "Appeal to the Governments of the Danubian Countries" expresses the conference participants' "deep concern" over the "wasteful and uncontrolled use of the Danube's waters,... the dangerous pollution of the river,... destruction of unique ecosystems, and the design, construction, and operation of water engineering installations with insufficient regard for ecological requirements." The appeal calls for "broader integrated research on the region's critical ecological problems," and appeals to the Danubian governments to agree on coordinated action to substantially improve the ecological situation and "turn the Danube into a river of life and peace."

In the interview with Nansen Bekhar, Bekhar outlines the significance of the "Eco-Danube 88" Conference, admits that differences did arise during the conference discussions, for example, on the use of atomic energy, but says that "common features did emerge during the discussions that form a good basis for future cooperation." Finally, Bekhar outlines the future plans of the "Ecoforum for Peace" movement.

In his interview, Dometian, metropolitan of Vidin, explains that the church is concerned with Danubian ecology because "ecology poses not only economic and political problems, but also moral ones." He describes the church's role in instilling in people a sense of responsibility for their environment, which naturally stems from the teaching of brotherly love. Dometian sees no distinction between "Christian and universal morality" in this context, noting that "all of us, both believers and atheists, have a responsibility to the Danube and to nature."

In her article "How Sweet Water Is Souring the Sea," Elizaveta Matveeva gives a general, popular-scientific account of how the immense flow of polluted effluent from the Danube is damaging the ecology, flora, and fauna of the Black Sea.

In his report on page 3, Krum Slavov first describes a paper delivered at the conference by Ukrainian Academician Viktor Romanenko on the results of a scientific expedition that he led in March 1988 from the mouth of the Danube to Vienna in his capacity as director of the Hydrobiology Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. According to Slavov, Romanenko stated that his expedition found that the river "contains a large amount of suspended particles that retain considerable amounts of toxic chemical agents and metals," and that "the copper and zinc content, for example, exceeded the maximum permissible concentrations by a factor of 2.5-3, while the iron content was 6 times higher." Romanenko added that "an excessive rise in the amount of chrome was noted from the Bulgarian bank downstream, and a high content of petroleum and its derivatives was recorded between Czechslovak territory and the mouth," and that "the last section of the Danube—from Romania to its entry into the Black Sea—is the worst polluted, with the Danube contributing three-quarters of the pollutants of the Black Sea basin." Slavov says that Romanenko's "constructive proposals" formed the basis for the documents adopted by the conference on measures to combat Danubian pollution.

Slavov then briefly describes the contribution made by Academician Boris Laskorin, an effluent treatment expert, who attended the conference as a representative of the Commission on the Protection of Waters of the USSR Academy of Sciences. According to Slavov, Laskorin proposed that the conference should "appeal to the governments of the Balkan countries to stop discharging untreated effluents into the river" and that "a specific program, obligatory for all, should be drafted for cleaning up the Danube."

Finally, Slavov summarizes the conference speech made by Academician Nikolay Yenikolopov, director of the Syntactic Polymers Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who stressed that the Danube problem is not a regional one, but, "because of the close connection with the Black Sea basin, and hence with the Mediterranean, is becoming a global ecological problem." Yenikolopov appealed for a renunciation of "the national egoism prevailing everywhere" in order to grapple with the pollution problem, because "the problems of the Danube cannot be the problems of one country alone."

In the interview with Prof Ernst von Weizsaecker, director of the Institute for European Ecological Policy, by Ani Ivancheva, Von Weizsaecker first bewails the worldwide destruction of the environment through economic exploitation and then sets out his own theory on what action should be taken. He suggests that the state should tax "all harmful and destructive activities, such as cutting down forests, exploiting waters, and so on," so that "those who pollute or destroy natural resources will pay more taxes and earn smaller profits." Von Weizsaecker then warns the Danubian socialist countries to be cautious in their moves toward market-based economies because of the risk of thereby increasing the destruction of nature. Finally, in response to a question on the East-West gap in the field of ecological technologies, Von Weizsaecker says the socialist countries can close the gap by developing their own waste-free technologies, based on Western know-how where necessary, and voices the hope that the current improvement in East-West economic relations will encourage technical cooperation in the ecological field as well.

Stepan Speaks on Restructuring at Conference

AU0212111688 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 28 Nov 88 p 5

["Substantial excerpts" from the speech by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, at an all-Prague conference of chairmen of primary party organization held in Prague on 24 November: "A Resolute Call for Creative Work"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

The Only Road Forward

Demands on the work of every functionary are growing to an unprecedented extent. The program of profound economic and political reforms laid down and gradually specified by the 7th, 9th, and 10th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee is the only road toward a new development of our socialist society. There is no other road forward for us. Clinging to what has been attained, patting oneself on the shoulder, and dithering at the start of the road means stagnation.

People's ideas about the purpose, urgency, and contents of these reforms, and about the specific course to be pursued, vary greatly, however. We must fend off a certain skepticism that is making itself felt and show by example that we are firmly determined to take the path of restructuring and to tackle problems. [passage omitted]

In this way, we must also help convince those who assume a wait-and-see, indifferent attitude to the set policy line. Disagreement with restructuring, and even opposition to it, are also making themselves felt more distinctly. This concerns those groups and individuals whose standing is immediately threatened by restructuring; whom restructuring deprives of their undeserved prerogatives. However, it also concerns some older comrades who, although they avail themselves of considerable political experience, find it hard to admit at present that many aspects of their honest work are obsolete today and need to be changed. Some of them even express the view that what is involved is a relapse into the years of crisis 1968-69 or even an attempt at the restoration of capitalism and they lift a warning finger against all changes that we enforce.

However, we will not regard as a success of ideological work the isolation of these individuals and groups, but we shall view as a success only the enlisting of the majority of people for restructuring.

Renewing Combat Traditions

We must not forget the class enemies of socialism seeking to see it weakened, disrupted, and liquidated. We observe how they attempt to exploit restructuring in a parasitical way, coming out increasingly brazenly and offensively, as, incidentally, we were able to observe on 28 October. However, a lasting solution must not be seen in the mere use of power and repressive instruments, but, in particular, in an offensive ideological and political struggle. Regrettably, a number of communists have become unused to this. These communists are afraid of rubbing shoulders with the people and of working among them in a specific way.

It is therefore appropriate to ask: Where are communists disappearing to in everyday discussions when the party and socialism are being criticized? We must admit that they speak in a completely different way at party meetings, if they speak there at all, from the way they speak in personal conversations, at home, and among friends.... [passage omitted]

Truthfully, Openly, Objectively

We must stop perceiving ideological work as a form of adult education, as campaigns, of which it is necessary to furnish proof. We must move toward a purposeful and comprehensive influence of the party, social organizations, and all educational institutions and labor collectives on people's reason and emotions. That is why it is essential to regularly analyze the state of opinion, to know which issues vex the people, what the psychological situation is like, who exerts an influence on and gives shape to it, and so forth.

Ideological work must everywhere be conducted truthfully, openly, and objectively. We live, and will continue to live, in the conditions of open access to information, in which no views can be forced upon the people by passing a resolution and issuing an order. The democratization of ideological work will inevitably lead toward pluralism of views on problems and tasks, toward dialogue on alternative solutions. It is precisely this dialogue that is lacking in our primary party organizations thus far. The most intricate problems are not being discussed at party membership meetings but, all the more vehemently, in corridors, workshop , and offices. As a result, no unifying of party ranks takes place, which is one of the serious problems of party work....

Individual methods and forms of ideological work, too, must be assessed from the perspective of demands on its restructuring. From this angle of vision, it is necessary to deal with ways of raising the effectiveness of party education. Special attention in party education must be devoted to candidate members and young party members. Substantially greater attention also has to be paid to mass political work.

Frankly speaking, its implementation has so far been fraught with the greatest shortcomings. It is overorganized and overformalistic and frequently it has the a result opposite the desired effect. Instead of winning people over, it outrages them. In this sphere, we must

also get rid of various slogans, inscriptions, or symbols whose function is doubtful, both as a vehicle of propaganda and in terms of their decorative function. [passage omitted]

The Paramount Importance of Political Work

In party work, we have grown all too accustomed to interfering in all processes that take place in Prague; to managing everything with the ultimate effect of managing nothing; to supplanting the agencies in charge and deciding on trivia. Because of this style of party work, the main purpose of the party's activity—political work, political guidance, ideological education, and mass political work among the people—has drifted into the background. This is borne out, inter alia, by a check carried out by the CPCZ City Control and Auditing Commission, which revealed that some party organizations have not yet fully grasped the meaning of the conclusions of the 7th and 9th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, but also of the 10th session, and continue to work in the accustomed grooves. After all, some of them have dealt with them only in an informative way.

Much evidence of action for appearances sake lingers on in the preparation and conduct of membership meetings; for example, in the quality and specific nature of adopted resolutions, in assigning specific tasks to communists and in evaluating their fulfillment, in applying the right of control, and the like. The inconsistent solution of these questions has a direct impact on the overall standing of the party organization at workplaces and it quite logically must have an impact on the interest of people and workers in particular in becoming candidate members and members of our party. [passage omitted] There are also shortcomings in the selection of candidates for membership, since the overriding consideration is to obtain a certain number while less consideration is given to how the admission of the person in question will contribute to deepening the party's influence.... [passage omitted]

The CPCZ City Committee expects CPCZ primary organizations and CPCZ enterprise committees in central agencies to show markedly greater activity and become more vigorously involved in all restructuring processes. Knowledge of the political situation at workplaces and of those who exert influence on it is lacking. Knowledge of the cadres that we recommend is also lacking. Sometimes we evaluate them uncritically, just through the prism of cadre questionnaires. Some party organizations have also displayed little openness, criticism, and courage in assessing nominees. At the same time, it is becoming apparent that, from the viewpoint of the new economic thinking, the working people are both theoretically and practically unprepared to assume the role of an independent manager of their workplace, despite continuous party and trade union education. The old morale spawned by economic injustice, egalitarianism, low expectations, and sometimes also indifference toward national needs continues to be deeply ingrained in them. This shortcoming is compounded by the fact that we have been very quick in confining the entire restructuring of the economic mechanism to elections of self-management agencies and directors. Despite their importance, these measures must not divert attention from the crucial tasks and the mission of individual state enterprises.

The Economy Is Crucial

The first steps of restructuring will be successful if and when we succeed in fulfilling the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. This must be realized by us all. Regrettably, despite generally favorable results in the fulfillment of the state plan in Prague industry in the first half of the year, the Presidium of the Prague CPCZ City Committee has had to warn against the danger of overestimating results. It has had to warn against this danger, mainly because changes in the plan had been carried out in a number of industrial enterprises, whose tasks with regard to profit, output, and exports had been lowered. Furthermore, there has been no improvement with regard to the situation in supplier-user relations, which has had an adverse influence on the smoothness and regularity of production and on the development of inventories. This, in turn, has led to the inability of a number of enterprises to pay their bills....

The results achieved in the January-September 1988 period were substantially worse than the results of the same period last year. The production shortfall of organizations that are behind in plan fulfillment represents Kcs200.9 million in adjusted net output, Kcs389.2 million in the production of goods, and Kcs322 million in gross output. The low dynamism of plan fulfillment in the last 3 months signals a serious situation from the viewpoint of safeguarding the fulfillment of this year's plan as a whole. [passage omitted]

We highly critically assess the situation in services and supplies in the capital. [passage omitted] Particularly critical is the situation in municipal district enterprises of the housing economy. People are running out of patience and demand a quick turnaround in their work, including a problem of such gravity as responsibility for the maximum utilization of the housing stock.

As for supplies, in spite of the measures that have been taken with regard to supplies of consumer goods, there is now growing criticism of the timeliness of supplies of some food products.... After all, we cannot tolerate forever situations such as that which occurred in Prague on 27 October, prior to 3 work-free days, in supplies of bread and other bakery products and, at some localities, even in supplies of dairy products. [passage omitted]

Chairmen of party organizations and communists in the enterprises concerned must contribute through active political work to the elimination of all unnecessary problems. All major issues should be tackled at party membership meetings and conclusions should be drawn

against those party members in the workforce who only constantly note the existence of problems, find excuses for them, but do not get things done. This is necessary, inter alia, because citizens do not criticize such individuals and labor collectives, but address their criticism to the party as a whole.

Stepan Establishes Team of Consultants

AU0212155988 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 29 Nov 88 p 2

["vp"-signed report: "First Meeting of Consultative Team"]

[Text] Prague—A 31-member consultative team of the [Prague] CPCZ City Committee Presidium held its constituent meeting yesterday afternoon. Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, briefed its members on the current political situation in implementing the conclusions of the city party conference and on the main tasks connected with economic restructuring and with the democratization of society in the capital of Prague. Discussion at the constituent meeting dealt with these issues and with suggestions for the contents and methods of work of this consultative aktiv. It is made up of experienced party functionaries of long standing and of comrades who worked or still work in responsible public and economic posts, which provides the guarantee of qualified assistance to and necessary continuity in the work of the city party committee.

Jakes Attends SVAZARM Congress in Prague

LD0412115788 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Excerpts] We now go to Prague's Palace of Culture where reporter Ladislav Mikus reports on the second day of the Eighth Congress of the Czechoslovak Union of Cooperation with the Army [SVAZARM]:

[Mikus] The congress is continuing its discussion. At the moment, Tadeusz Tuczapski, head of the delegation of the Polish Territorial Defense organization is speaking. The morning break will take place after his speech of greeting.

At the opening of proceedings the delegates welcomed Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee, with cordial applause. Then the results of elections to the new union organs were announced. They elected Lieutenant General Jiri Brychta as chairman of the SVAZARM Central Committee and Milan (Rabatyn) became chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The morning proceedings will be devoted to discussion. [passage omitted]

So far, speeches of greeting have been made by leaders of defense and sport organizations of Cuba, Hungary, and the GDR.

After the break the proceedings will continue with discussion and the work of the commission on the drafting of new SVAZARM statutes, decisions, and the congress' resolution.

Further Reportage

LD0412151788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] The Eighth Congress of the Czechoslovak Union for Cooperation with the Army (SVAZARM) continued in Prague today with the participation of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

During a meeting with the heads of delegations of fraternal defense and sport organizations from the Soviet Union and other countries during a break in the proceedings, Comrade Milos Jakes expressed conviction that their participation will contribute to strengthening the friendship and cooperation of defense and sport organizations of the fraternal states and their people. He said that at the same time as the peace movement, we must strive for a deepening of the defense capabilities of our countries, the readiness of the people, and the strengthening of ideological resistance. In the afternoon Milos Jakes saw an exhibition of photographs and other exhibits in the Prague Palace of Culture documenting the activity of SVAZARM.

Presidium of Slovak National Front Holds Meeting

AU0512113988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Prior to the Deliberations of the Slovak National Front Central Committee"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Presidium of the Slovak National Front Central Committee held a session in Bratislava on Tuesday [29 November] with its chairman Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, presiding over the session.

It discussed the preparations for the session of the Slovak National Front Central Committee, which will be held on 12 December. It also discussed the share of the bodies and organizations of the Slovak National Front in the work with deputies of national committees at all levels.

It expressed appreciation for the fact that the Cultural Union of the Ukrainian Working People contributes by its work within the framework of the National Front to strengthening the moral-political unity of the nations and nationalities of the CSSR.

The Presidium approved a motion to comply with the request of the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Conservationists to be accepted as member of the Slovak National Front.

CPCZ Social Commission Holds First Session

AU0512121288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 88 p 2

["z"-signed report]

[Excerpt] The first session of the CPCZ Central Committee's Commission for Social Policy was held in Prague on Tuesday [29 November] with Miroslav Zavadil, its chairman and CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, presiding.

The commission discussed the forms and methods of its work and the draft of its plan of work prior to the 18th CPCZ Congress.

The commission assessed the draft of the comprehensive forecast of scientific-technical, economic, and social development through the year 2010. After an informal and matter-of-fact discussion, it evaluated it as an open, analytical basis for determining the orientation of society's social and economic development. It expressed support for using the findings of a comprehensive forecast in drafting long-term social policy plans, linking these plans with economic and scientific-technical development as the decisive prerequisite for accelerating the overall development and restructuring of all spheres of society's life. It also endorsed their use in drafting the long-term concept for the next 5-year plan. [passage omitted]

Limits to Socialist Pluralism Delineated

AU2511095688 Prague TRIBUNA No 46 in Czech 16 Nov 88 pp 1, 3

[Karel Horak article: "What Sort of Pluralism?"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

An Instrument of the Struggle Against Socialism

The slogan of political pluralism has become an important instrument in the struggle of bourgeois ideology and revisionists against socialism. They describe the political system in which Marxist-Leninist parties occupy the leading position as a breach of democratic principles, as a usurpation of power by these parties, and the like. They reproach the socialist system for not having allowed any activity by opposition political parties after the triumph of the socialist revolution —activity by forces that represented the bourgeoisie or were linked with it. At the same time, history conclusively demonstrates that these parties had excluded themselves from political life because they stood in the way of progressive changes and because their activity was at variance with the will of the people. [passage omitted]

In connection with restructuring, bourgeois and revisionist propaganda has recently stepped up campaigns aimed at implanting in people's minds the notion that the introduction of political pluralism in the socialist countries should be the essence of the process of democratization. The demands being raised in bourgeois information media by various political scientists and commentators, as well as by all sorts of so-called informal groups from socialist countries (in which the overwhelming majority disagrees with socialism for one reason or another), clearly show that the only thing they want is for socialist countries to open the door for the legalization of opposition forces; for these individuals and groups to associate in political parties, or—at the beginning—for them to at least associate in some sort of political organization or club that would be able to operate legally and, let us add, could then legally subvert socialism. Slogans are being declared to the effect that if the Communist Party is sincere about restructuring, then it must give up 'the monopoly of power' and legalize opposition activity, reassess its own leading role, make rivalry between political parties and their programs possible in free elections, and so forth. In their essence, these slogans are nothing but calls for the Marxist-Leninist party to be deprived of its leading political position and for the creation of a bourgeois-type system of pluralism.

When we look at the problem of opposition under socialism from a historical perspective, the facts show conclusively that opposition under socialism can be only antisocialist, no matter which slogans it operates under. It does not matter whether you take the activity of the Mensheviks and socialist revolutionaries [eseri] after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the organizers of the counterrevolution in the Hungarian People's Republic in 1956, the revisionists and other aktivists of the so-called Prague Spring in 1968 in our country, or the "Solidarity" leadership in the early eighties—they all sought the liquidation of socialism.

The situation today, too, is no different. Speaking on behalf of the illegal "Solidarity" in the Polish People's Republic, L. Walesa demands (for the time being) "trade union pluralism," the legalization of "Solidarity's" activity, the possibility for several trade union organizations to exist in one factory, the free operation of market forces, freedom of association, changes in the political system,... and political pluralism (whose introduction can supposedly still wait). The "Association of Free Initiatives" in the Hungarian People's Republic, in which various "informal groups" that label themselves as oppositional are concentrated, sets itself the goal of "changing the constitutional order of the country, including the introduction of parliamentarism and a pluralist system, new elections, the freedom of association and of forming free trade unions, and freedom of the press." Addressing a press conference in Vienna on 16 September 1988, some of its representatives were even more specific and demanded the introduction of a Western-type system of several political parties. The demands

of the so-called informal groups in our country (which are organized by members of "Charter 77") go in the same direction. They demand the abolition of the leading role of the party; the restoration of private enterprise, including in agriculture and in culture; the founding of "independent" media and publishing houses; "independent" trade unions and other organizations; and the like.

Our enemies, too, have learned. They do not present their antisocialist aims openly, but veil their political designs with the slogans of "pluralism," often referring to the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. However, they intentionally take their interpretation (of freedom of speech, assembly, association, and so forth) out of the context of the Constitution, which is a constitution of the socialist society and guarantees the exercise of these freedoms in the interest and for the benefit of socialism. An abstract and nonclass interpretation of these articles of the Constitution—as if they extended rights and freedoms even to those whose aim and program is to subvert the socialist society—is incorrect and serves to deceive the general public.

Considering Citizens' Interests

We reject the concept of political pluralism in its bourgeois interpretation, which is aimed at a gradual liquidation of the socialist system from within. We say openly that democratization means neither liberalization nor the introduction of elements or systems of bourgeois democracy with its free play of political forces, but an improvement of socialist democracy. We need not and will not change anything in the essence of the socialist system. [passage omitted]

When we or people in the Soviet Union speak about pluralism in connection with restructuring, it is not some abstract concept devoid of its class content or an imitation of the pluralism of the bourgeois society that we have in mind. We always speak about socialist pluralism, at the root of which lie socialist democracy and the leading role of the Communist Party. [passage omitted]

We proceed from the premise that even under socialism, the existence of different interests and views is an objective fact. They are a result of the existing division of labor, income differentiation, differences in the social standing, regional problems, and so forth. Last but not least, various ideological anachronisms also play a role here, especially religion, which some citizens have not yet shed, and together with which they also assimilate the idealistic world view. [passage omitted]

The building of the socialist society requires that the objectively existing interests and the views arising from them be taken into account, examined, and used as a point of departure. If some interests, views, and positions (which needless to say must be justified) are underrated, not considered, or even suppressed, this logically weakens the interest of the affected groups of citizens in socialist construction, leads to their passivity, and in the event of long-standing disregard for them, to very deep conflicts as well. Equally dangerous is the assertion of group interests at the expense of national interests, because ultimately such conduct harms not only society but, in its repercussions, even those who may temporarily benefit from it. [passage omitted]

Development of Socialist Democracy Is of Crucial Importance

The best possible conditions to enable various interests and opinions to make an active contribution to the solution of this or that problem have not always been created everywhere. Therefore the 7th, 9th, and 10th CPCZ Central Committee sessions stressed that one of the fundamental tasks of restructuring is to further deepen socialist democracy. [passage omitted]

The purpose of all the measures contained in the resolutions of the aforementioned CPCZ Central Committee sessions and in the appropriate legal provisions is to ensure that during the process of preparing important decisions the greatest possible number of people whom the decisions concern can already voice their opinions on them, and that their views and suggestions are taken into consideration. The foundation of socialist pluralism is the development of socialist democracy, of all its aspects. This means not only providing greater powers to the primary components of the economic and political management, extending the active participation of the people in decision-making, and eliminating administrative and bureaucratic barriers which retard that participation, but also increasing the accountability of these management components and individuals for achieved results, for satisfying people's material and intellectual needs.

To prevent a situation in which various views on the solution of particular problems smolder under the surface, both the party and the state bodies as well as social organizations must create conditions permitting them to be expressed. That presupposes the elimination of rampant formalism, bureaucratic approaches, the elevation of the apparatus above elected bodies, and so forth in quite a few places. Thus the important thing is to change the forms and methods of work, provide scope for a frank discussion so that people can express their views and so that even clashes of opinion help one to find the best possible solutions. [passage omitted]

However, a public discussion and citizens' opinions alone are no guarantee that a well-founded solution will be adopted. When planning and making decisions on various proposals, the voice of experts, too, must be heard. Their views must not be ignored. But discussions must not drag on forever. The application of democratic centralism is one of the conditions for the development of socialist democracy. Once a decision has been made,

one has to begin to implement it unanimously. Otherwise democratization will turn into anarchy, into an endless feuding, and tasks would not be implemented. [passage omitted]

Our political system, with its ramified structure of social and special interest organizations, provides the necessary conditions for every person to engage in activities that suit his or her personal interests. That is why the citizens' involvement in such organizations is rather high (on average, every person belongs to several organizations). However, this does not mean that no spontaneous social or special interest initiatives can emerge on a local level, or even on a much broader scale. After all, their emergence very much depends on the way in which the existing organizations proceed to meet (or not to meet) the citizens' justified needs and interests. At the recent national conference of leading secretaries of the CPCZ's Regional and District Committees, Comrade Milos Jakes told the participants how to approach these social and special interest activities: "The key criterion in our attitude toward the current trends in international and domestic policies must be the extent to which they harmonize with the basic strategic line pursued by our party and by the states of the socialist community. For instance, the various spontaneous social and special interest activities of our citizens, including young people, cannot be a priority regarded as hostile activities which represent a threat to socialism. It is neither expedient nor politically and legally justified to adopt administrative measures against anything and everything that goes beyond the habits and views cemented in the past, or habits and views that we perhaps do not like. The basic criterion of our policy in this sector must be the demand that these civic initiatives have to develop on socialist foundations and in harmony with our laws...."

It is only natural that we maintain a completely different attitude toward all "initiatives" that use civic activities merely as a camouflage, although in fact they are essentially antisocial and are backed by the external or internal enemy. We will resolutely and uncompromisingly ward off such "initiatives," which the adversaries of socialism would like to foist on us.

Socialist pluralism is not something planted on socialism from outside. The variety of views on the solution of these or those problems is an objectively existing fact. That is why all the discussions, disputes, and sometimes even sharp exchanges of views must be considered quite normal in the process of searching for the best possible roads leading toward the set goals. However, the limits for these discussions and disputes are set by the development of socialism and by the creative application of Marxism-Leninism. A person who rejects the principles on which our society is founded or who tries to foist on us particular principles of bourgeois or revisionist ideology under the slogan of pluralism automatically excludes himself from participation in the political life of our country.

Roundtable on Danube Dams Takes Place

AU1711123388 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 9 and 10 November, on page 4 in each instance, publishes in two installments the 8,000-word "substantial ideas" from a roundtable discussion on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric power scheme that was held in Dunajska Streda earlier this year (the date of the discussion is not given). The discussion is published under the headline "Necessary and Advantageous for Today and the Future." Participants in the discussion, which was organized together with UJ SZO, the CPSL organ in Hungarian, included representatives of political, economic, and scientific organizations involved in the planning and construction of the project, as well as representatives of the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Conservationists. As PRAVDA notes in its introductory remarks, the aim of the discussion was to provide information on "all aspects and consequences of the project" and thereby counter the voices that "damn the construction of the system of hydro projects, claiming that it will destroy once and for all the unique fauna and flora of the Danube area, damage the sources of underground water, and, in the final analysis, also negatively influence agricultural production in our most intensive farming district, Dunajska Streda."

The Bratislava PRAVDA item first cites the opening statement in the discussion, which was made by Koloman Dudas, leading secretary of the district party committee in Dunajska Streda, who has meanwhile (on 18 October) been elected member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium. Dudas stresses the importance of providing "truthful information" about the project in order to "expose the interests of some citizens who misuse the construction of the hydroelectric power scheme to generate uncertainty and to sully not only our scientific institutions but also state and political, economic, and specialist institutions and organizations by charging that they supposedly do not deal with the problems which the construction of the supposedly unnecessary Danube scheme brings forth." Referring to the discussion in Hungary, Dudas contends that "some people—and it is no secret that also in our country there are people who applaud them—use the hydro project and the negative phenomena connected with it not to protect, enhance, or save the environment but to promote their own antisocialist political aims, which have the active backing of Western centers." Dudas insists that all the problems resulting from the construction of Gabcikovo have been dealt with and expresses the hope that "our meeting today will furnish evidence of this."

In the subsequent statements, the panelists discuss the benefits of the scheme (such as a protection against floods, source of cheap energy, and contribution to navigation on the Danube and to the industrialization of the Dunajska Streda district) and emphasize the attention that is being paid to all ecological aspects. Some of the panelists also counter the arguments advanced by (unspecified) opponents of the project. Julius Binder,

deputy director of Hydroconsult, the chief designer of the project, for instance, claims that the scheme "can be declared the most ecological project in the republic." Although he concedes that 2,700 hectares of wetland forests have disappeared as a result of construction, he maintains that the benefits will far outweigh this loss: "Let us consider how large a forest area is needed to produce the amount of oxygen that is spent by 1 million tonnes of burnt oil, which is the amount needed to generate the electricity that the Danube will generate in an average year. We will find out that to produce this amount of oxygen we would need 28,000 hectares of forests." According to Binder, by making it possible to close one thermal power station, the construction of Gabcikovo will actually improve the ecological situation in the country. He also mentions that, on the basis of world energy prices, the Gabcikovo project "will recoup its costs in fewer than 4 years, if the costs of protecting the territory and of making the Danube navigable are subtracted." Thereby he indirectly counters the argument that the electricity generated in Gabcikovo will be too expensive. As to the protection of wetland forests, Binder says that "the environment on the entire territory between the Hungarian and Czechoslovak dams will be optimal for them and for life in them in general" and that "conditions in the wetland forests will be substantially better than they are at present." To illustrate this point, he mentions that the "water regime" that is about to be created will make it possible to supply the wetland forests with up to 250 cubic meters of water per second, although, according to environmentalists, an inflow of only 20 to 50 cubic meters per second is necessary for survival. In addition, Binder continues, this "regime" will also head off the periodically returning spring floods, which used to destroy the young forest vegetation.

Other arguments of the opponents of the project are countered by Academician Ludovit Weismann, director of the Slovak Academy of Sciences' Center for Biological and Ecological Sciences. Responding to claims that the project will negatively effect the purity of Danube water, he says that "even prior to construction, Danube water was being polluted and, had the project not been built, pollution would have continued. Therefore, in an endeavor to prevent pollution, a program to protect the purity of water has been adopted. It comprises, among other things, the construction of effluent treatment plants for the Slovnaft refinery and the Georgi Dimitrov chemical works. The construction of the system of hydroelectric power stations has therefore accelerated the protection of water, and not the other way round." Weismann also takes issue with the assertion "of some opponents of the project operating under the cloak of environmentalists" that farmers on the left bank of the Danube will sustain an annual production loss of Kcs4 billion. He qualifies this assertion as "demagogy" because "even if we conceded that one can grow Kcs30,000 worth of crops on each hectare a year, the loss would be Kcs900 million."

Although all panelists emphasize that ecological measures form an integral part of the project, some of them warn against the possible negative repercussions of delays in their implementation. Stefan Csibrey, deputy chairman of the District National Committee in Dunajska Streda, stresses that the channel system must operate before the hydroelectric power stations are launched. He also urges an accelerated construction of effluent treatment plants and the sewage grid to protect underground water resources and the cleansing of the riverbed of the Lesser Danube, a Danube tributary, because "the purity of its water, which is used to irrigate 40,000 hectares of land, is not adequate to the requirements of agriculture."

Academician Weismann deplores the fact that only a few of the recommendations worked out by his institution have been implemented to date and criticizes the fact that the Academy of Sciences, and ecologists and biologists specifically, have not been appropriated any extra funds to deal with the problems arising from the construction of the Danube dams. As a result, they are reportedly "having problems with maintaining monitoring biocenters."

Weismann is seconded by Jan Benetin, corresponding member of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and director of its Hydrology and Hydraulics Institute. Benetin warns that "if some part of the comprehensive solution is underestimated, it could have relatively big repercussions and cause relatively a lot of damage." He emphasizes in particular that the entire "water regime" that has been devised must be completed on time: "There must not be any time gap between putting the hydro scheme into operation and making this entire system operational. If it did not operate during only one vegetation period and if the weather in this period were unfavorable, the forest wetlands would be in danger and could die out in only one year. We know how to deal with all these problems, but what is being planned and discussed, and what exists on paper must also be translated into reality. I emphasize—this must be done not when the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station is launched, but as soon as the Hrusov-Dunakiliti reservoir starts to be filled with water." Benetin deplores the fact that "cooperation with the chief designer is not what it ought to be in view of the short time remaining before the hydro scheme goes into operation."

The need for the rapid construction of a monitoring network is also emphasized by Academician Juraj Hrasko, director of the Soil Fertility Research Center. He says that scientists are still unable to predict with absolute precision the impact of the scheme on the level of underground water. Although it can be assumed that the mathematical models that have been devised are 90 percent accurate, he continues, only monitoring can provide foolproof information. Hrasko goes on to say: "We need the monitoring system very soon, regardless of the cost. Anyway, the costs will be peanuts compared with the consequences, especially the political and moral consequences, should things get out of our hands. Academician Weismann is lamenting that he has no money,

Academician Benetin says that he has no money, and we do not have the money either. We have to find it. I am convinced that once we have a monitoring system, we will also be able to look after the ecology matters. I would like to tell those who are sitting on the money that it will be much cheaper if we get it now than if we get it later, when things get out of hand."

The acute need for a monitoring system is also emphasized by Jozef Canady from the Slovak Ministry of Forestry, Water Management, and Wood-Processing Industry: "The solution of this problem," he says, "brooks no delay. It is necessary to also involve in this solution the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, because the need to spend resources now for the benefit of long-term targets is not always sufficiently understood on its part." Canady also draws attention to the importance of the purity of the river Morava, the largest tributary of the Danube on Czechoslovak territory. In this connection he says: "In the past, we never succeeded in agreeing with representatives of the Czech SR on a timetable for the construction of effluent treatment plants on the Morava. I assume that the climate created by the conclusion of the talks in the Hungarian parliament will create certain pressure in the Czech SR as well so that we will agree on a coordinated joint course of action in building effluent treatment plants in the Morava River basin."

Another potential danger—that of the mineralization of underground water—is pointed out by Engineer Emil Fulajtar, candidate of sciences and researcher at the Soil Fertility Research Center. He says that underground water on the territory affected by the Danube dams is "mineralized on a larger area than has been known until now" and that "the salt content in this water is also higher than expected and than older data indicates, especially in the lower part of the Zitny Island and on the left bank of the river Vah." Since the level of underground water in this area is expected to drop at least 50 to 100 cm, he continues, "the danger of the salinization of soil in this area will practically increase. That is why literally everything must be done in the designs, especially with regard to pumping stations, to make the level of underground water controllable so that we will not have to venture upon expensive follow-up investments."

One of the panelists, Pavol Frolkovic, Slovak deputy minister of interior and the environment, refers in his statement to a petition of Slovak opponents of the project. The relevant passage of his statement reads: "Recently—and, I beg you, let us not conceal this—the Danube Appeal was issued. Regrettably, it was not sent to the central bodies in Slovakia but only to federal and international bodies. It supposedly has 600 signatures of people who are up in arms against the completion of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydro project and who alternatively propose that its scale be limited. They propose that it not be a peak-load power station, but a normal through-flow power station; they demand that construction at Nagymaros be halted since this is still possible; and so forth. As far as I know the authors of these appeals and other similar materials also include some experts from the Slovak Academy of Sciences. How are we to inform and convince the public about the correctness of the solution of these problems when employees of your institutions are not convinced? I am thinking, among other things, of a little article by an ecologist who, as far as I know, is on the academy's staff. I am personally of the opinion that was expressed here by Academician Weismann. The problems are soluble, we know how to resolve them, and must resolve them. Naturally, nature in the area of the scheme cannot be conserved in the condition in which it was. In the final analysis, environmental protection is not about conserving the status quo but about coordinating in a certain way man's coexistence with nature, about reciprocal adaptation. Only from such positions can one speak about ensuring progress in the solution of the problems under debate.

"It follows from all negotiations and information on the Danube dams that we know how to solve the problems. But a more convincing reply needs to be given to the questions of whether we can afford to solve them, when will they be solved, and who will ensure the solution.

"It was planned, for example, that the rebuilding of the wetland forests would be secured by the Ministry of Forestry, Water Management, and the Wood-Processing Industry, and that problems concerning the working of the soil would be resolved by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Slovak SR. Meanwhile, however, a solution has been delegated to someone else and, ultimately, to the Slovak Commission for Planning and Science (SKPV), which today has neither allocations [of supplies] nor resources. It is apparent that we will not be able to carry on like this. The question of the specific responsibility of the implementor of this project for what he has caused and will yet cause, for what he will have to set right or at least restore to its original condition, is coming clearly to the fore. "And the ecological problems connected with the Danube dams? Recently the [Slovak] Government discussed a report on their solution in accordance with the intentions of the bioproject worked out by the Slovak Academy of Sciences and approved by Government Resolution No. 56 of 1974. This is why I am astonished by the contention of the signatories of the Danube Appeal that the academy has always opposed the scheme. This is a deception of the public because the ecological problems connected with its construction have from the very beginning been responsibly tackled with the full participation of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and other scientific and research institutions. The mistake was that we were supplying little information about this to the public. Thereby we have given scope to all kinds of actions and influences of the 'Greens' from Austria and the Hungarian People's Republic, but also to their assorted associates in our country. It is therefore correct that we are beginning to talk about these problems to give our public first-hand

information, so to speak. Needless to say, this information must be credible and must not be at variance with reality."

A reference to the Danube Appeal is also made by Professor Lubor Cunderlik, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Conservationists. He notes that the propaganda work of his union is rendered more difficult by the fact that "to a large extent, we depend on members of the academy who are members of our union and, as Engineer Frolkovic pointed out, some of them have joined the so-called Danube Appeal or are even its initiators." Cunderlik goes on to say: "I realize that the academy provides no scope for these unsuitable activities, but various sensation-mongering activists are misusing the Union of Nature and Landscape Conservationists for this. They are looking there for possibilities to put across their views, views that deliberately have an incorrect influence on the information available to our citizens and, by the same token, on their ecological awareness as well, not only on questions concerning the Danube River basin, but in other sectors of environmentalist work as well."

The discussion is wound up by Koloman Dudas, who appreciates the "number of good, useful ideas" expressed in it and assures the panelists that everything will be done for the successful completion of the project.

Stepan-Led Delegation Departs for USSR
LD0412201488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 4 dEC 88

[Text] A delegation of the Prague CPCZ Municipal Committee led by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Municipal Committee, left for the Soviet Union today. In Moscow the delegation will participate in the Days of Prague from 5 to 9 December.

Johanes Arrives in Austria for Visit
LD0412221888 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 4 DEc 88

[Excerpt] Vienna Dec 4 (CTK correspondent]—Czechoslovak (?Foreign) Minister Jaromir Johanes arrived here tonight for a two-day official visit at the invitation of Austrian Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock.

Jaromir Johanes will discuss with Austrian officials the present state of Czechoslovak-Austrian cooperation and possibilities of its promotion. An agreement will be signed during his visit on the establishment and activity of a Czechoslovak culture and information centre in Vienna and an Austrian cultural institute in Prague.

The two sides will also discuss some international issues, the situation in Europe in particular. [passage omitted]

Khrushchev Speech on Stalin Published in Hungary
AU0212140088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 88 p 7

["zr"-signed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] The Kossuth publishing house has published in Hungarian translation the text of Nikita Khrushchev's speech at the 20th CPSU Congress, entitled "On the Personality Cult and Its Consequences." This speech, delivered at a closed session on 25 February 1956, exposed the Stalin personality cult.

Official Protests Against UK Police 'Brutality'
AU0212140788 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Nov 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Gross Violation of Human Rights"]

[Text] Prague— John MacGregor, charge d'affaires ad interim of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, was invited to the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs yesterday, where Evzen Vacek, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, conveyed to him the deep concern, indignation, and disagreement of the Czechoslovak public with the brutal action taken by the British police against a peaceful demonstration of students before the British Parliament building in London on 24 November 1988. The police employed unscrupulous means against the demonstrators, who included women with small children, injuring a number of students and groundlessly detaining several tens of them. It was emphatically pointed out to the British diplomat that such practice constitutes a gross violation of human rights and runs counter to the Final Act of the Helsinki CSCE.

Poland's Premeir Rakowski on Working Visit

'Cordially Welcomed' by Stoph

LD0512083088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0820 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, arrived for a friendly working visit in the GDR this morning. He is accepting an invitation from Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, who cordially welcomed his guest at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport.

'Friendly' Meeting With Stoph

LD0512100788 East Berlin ADN international Service in German 0947 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, met for a first friendly meeting on the premises of the Council of Ministers in Berlin on Monday [5 December] morning. The official talks began afterwards.

Kessler Receives Polish General Skalski

AU2211121388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Nov 88 p 3

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, received General of Arms Jerzy Skalski, PPR inspector-in-chief for territorial defense and chief of the Civil Defense Inspectorate, on Friday [18 November]. During a meeting in the Defense Ministry, both sides paid tribute to the constantly developing and close ties of friendship and overall cooperation between the PPR and the GDR.

In the course of the meeting, the defense minister stressed the contribution by the members and volunteers of the GDR civil defense to the preventive work to protect the population and the national economy from catastrophies, accidents, and other damages. Thus, they are participating in the successful implementation of the SED's economic and social policy.

General Skalski conveyed cordial greetings from Army General Florian Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and PPR minister of national defense, which were returned by Army General Heinz Kessler.

Lieutenant General Fritz Peter, chief of the GDR Civil Defense Main Administration, participated in the talk. Janusz Obodowski, PPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, was also present.

CSSR Air Defense Commander Meets Kessler

AU1711124788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [15 November], Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received Lieutenant General Jaroslav Matyas, commander of the National Air Defense of the CSSR.

During their friendly meeting, Army General Heinz Kessler praised the close relations between the two peoples and their armies. He described the class and arms alliance with the USSR Armed Forces and the other fraternal armies as a pledge for the collective protection of peace and the socialist achievements. In this context, he stressed that, together with the comrades-in-arms of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, the members of the National People's Air Force and Air Defense Command will continue to reliably protect the air space.

The meeting in the Defense Ministry was attended by Colonel General Wolfgang Reinhold, deputy defense minister and chief of the Air Force and Air Defense Command of the National People's Army.

SED Greets MSZMP on 70th Anniversary

AU2511192188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[ND report: "Fraternal Militant Greetings to Hungary's Communists; SED Congratulates on the 70th Anniversary of the Founding of the Party"]

[Text] East Berlin—The SED Central Committee has sent the following greetings address to MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz and to MSZMP Chairman Janos Kadar to Budapest:

Dear comrades:
We convey fraternal militant greetings and cordial congratulations to the MSZMP Central Committee and to all communists of the Hungarian People's Republic on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the MSZMP.

On 24 November 1918 a new, glorious page was opened in the history of the tough and sacrificial struggle of the Hungarian workers class for social and national liberation. Under the impression of the Great October Socialist Revolution, communists and socialists, leftist social democrats, and progressive representatives of the intelligentsia, who together worked against peace and for social progress, founded the first truly revolutionary Marxist-Leninist militant party of the Hungarian workers movement. Under its tested leadership great, immortal achievements were reached and a path was followed, which led from the proclamation of the Hungarian

Council Republic in 1919 to the heroic struggle of the communists against the Fascist Horthy dictatorship to the successful establishment of the Hungarian People's Republic.

In particular on the occasion of the founding of the party, one can note with full justification that, thanks to its active domestic and foreign policy and to its tireless work for peace and disarmament within the framework of the foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact states, the MSZMP—the leading power of the Hungarian society—has gained a high reputation all over the world.

The German and the Hungarian workers movement and their revolutionary parties have been linked by long-standing traditions of joint struggle against imperialism, exploitation, and war, and for a bright future of the peoples. We note with satisfaction that a true militant alliance, sincere friendship, and trusting cooperation has developed between the SED and the MSZMP on the basis of common goals and ideals. This matured alliance is also standing its test under today's conditions and gives us the firm conviction that our two peoples will continue to advance side by side in shaping the socialist social system.

Dear Hungarian comrades:
The historic anniversary of the founding of the MSZMP is an occasion for us to wholeheartedly wish all communists and all working people of Hungary new successes in implementing the decisions of the MSZMP National Conference and in preparing the 14th MSZMP Congress for the benefit of peace and socialism.

With communist greetings,
SED Central Committee
E. Honecker,
General Secretary.

Air Traffic Agreement Signed With Mongolia

LD1811002488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1216 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar (ADN)—An air traffic agreement between the Governments of the GDR and the Mongolian People's Republic was signed today in Ulaanbaatar. It clears the way for aircraft of the GDR airline "Interflug" to overfly Mongolian territory en-route to Beijing and other destinations in Southeast Asia, and for the inclusion of the Mongolian capital in the "Interflug" network at a later date.

Technology Cooperation With Bulgaria Signed

AU1911083188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 88 p 5

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The 23d session of the GDR-Bulgarian Joint Economic Committee was concluded in Berlin on Wednesday [16 November]. The protocol of the session was signed by the heads of the two delegations, Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The subject of the session was the further implementation of the "Program of Expanding and Deepening Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria Through the Year 2000" signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, in September 1987 and of the agreements concluded by the chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the two countries in May 1988. It was concurrently noted that good preconditions for the further development of economic relations between the two countries have been established with the level achieved in cooperation during the current 5-year-plan period and with the agreements concluded to prepare the coordination of the national economic plans of the GDR and Bulgaria for the 1991-95 period.

The economic committee discussed the next tasks of cooperation, particularly in the fields of key technologies with the aim of supporting comprehensive intensification of the national economies of the two countries.

In agreement with the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress of the CEMA member countries through the year 2000, stipulations were set down to promote cooperation in research, development, and production between the two countries, for instance in the fields of comprehensive automation, development of computer technology and new materials, and biotechnology.

Both sides explained the level of cooperation in the fields of electrical engineering and electronics and agreed to continue the work, particularly for the preparation of new accords on production specialization and cooperation and mutual deliveries of equipment, products, and electronic component parts.

In the field of machine tool and processing machinery construction, cooperation will be concentrated on the development, production, and mutual delivery of integrated manufacturing stages, manufacturing cells, modules, and elements, and on the expansion of the mutual exchange of components and completion equipment.

With the tasks agreed on in the field of chemical and biotechnological industry, the work for process technology, design, and production of installations and equipment as well as instrument technology for research and production processes will be intensively continued.

During their stay in the GDR, the members of the Bulgarian delegation visited the Berlin Television Electronics Factory.

Deputy Foreign Minister Meets India's Gandhi

AU1711213088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 88 p 5

[Text] New Delhi (ADN)—On Tuesday [15 November] Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi received and had talks in New Delhi with the SED Central Committee delegation—headed by Peter Florin, member of the SED Central Committee and GDR deputy foreign minister—which is attending the conference "For a World Without Nuclear Weapons and Violence."

Peter Florin conveyed most cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were returned in kind. [passage omitted]

Rajiv Gandhi welcomed the participation of a delegation of the SED Central Committee in the conference and agreed with the statement that there is far-reaching concurrence on basic issues of international politics. Both sides paid tribute to the bilateral relations as extraordinarily good, referring to the fact that new forms and methods of cooperation have been found in the economic field. The dialogue, the mutual consultations, and the state and social relations in various fields should be promoted and developed further, the interlocutors noted.

Honecker Meets With FRG Businessman

LD1811062588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1645 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general Secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received the chairman of the board of the Alfred Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach Foundation and chairman of the board of the Friedrich Krupp Inc., Professor H.C. Berthold Beitz.

During their exchange of opinions, which took place in a very open atmosphere, the parties agreed with the priority goal that all policies had to maintain peace and the aversion of a nuclear inferno. They expressed their satisfaction that by the treaty on the removal of the Soviet and the U.S. medium-range missiles, disarmament had started and a turn for the better in international relations had been heralded. This process had to be continued and made irrevocable.

Erich Honecker stressed that the two German states bore great responsibility for peace and disarmament and had to work actively for them. Here he pointed to the GDR's initiatives for the creation of a nuclear-weapons-free zone, a chemical-weapons-free zone and a zone of trust and security in central Europe. Erich Honecker explained the constructive disarmament program of the Warsaw Pact states which opened prospects for a nuclear-weapon-free and conventional disarmed Europe.

The parties agreed that Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987 had heralded a new phase in relations between the two German states and had had a lasting effect. They paid tribute to the progress in relations achieved so far and expressed the hope that this process would be continued. Erich Honecker stressed that mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference were an indispensable precondition for this.

Berthold Beitz expressed thanks for the invitation to visit the GDR, which has enabled him to make a personal contribution to the further intensification of dialogue. The historic opportunity which has opened up for the development of relations between the GDR and the FRG must be utilized with commitment and steadfastness in the interests of peace and the people.

In the talk the various aspects of the further deepening of economic and trade relations between the GDR and the FRG assumed an important position. Erich Honecker underlined the role of these economic and trade relations as a stabilizing factor for overall relations between the two German states.

Berthold Beitz stated that Friedrich Krupp Inc. placed a high value on its long-standing, good business relations with GDR enterprises. Discussions were currently underway with various GDR combines and foreign trade enterprises on interesting projects which were conducive to further deepening cooperation. They were guided here by the proven principle that good business must bring advantages to both sides.

The talk was attended by Dr Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade.

Bahr Calls German Reunification Outdated

AU0212161988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Nov 88 p 5

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The old German question lies behind us. There is no longer any option to return to it, SPD Presidium member Egon Bahr stated in a lecture in Munich. This question, Bahr said, is an "illusion of reunification." Whoever dreams about uniting capitalism and socialism, is free to do so. However, Kohl and Honecker have agreed that fire and water cannot be politically mingled. Those who artificially raise the "German question," Bahr stressed, only disturb the peaceful development. It is not the "German question," but the way toward international cooperation that is open. While separate from each other, both German states should cooperate to safeguard the chances in the European home. It should be an advantage for Europe that both the FRG and the GDR have recognized their

responsibility for peace. Both are indispensable for the creation of stability in Europe. There will be two German states during the process of disarmament, one of them is trying to implement the WEU, and design the European home. Whoever raises the German question in this context disturbs Europe. The Germans must not be troublemakers any longer.

The FRG and the GDR should contribute to the safe foundation of the European home with their own proposals. They should become the motor of conventional disarmament and provide an example of confidence-building in Europe, the SPD politician demanded. For example, both states could work toward the reduction of the number and volume of the maneuvers on both sides. They could also discuss the first steps for excluding surprise attacks. It is conceivable, Bahr stated, that both states will commit themselves not to make the first attack on the other under any circumstances, either with conventional or with nuclear weapons.

SED 1-2 Dec Session Proceedings Described

LD0212193488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1727 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED Central Committee met for its seventh session in Berlin on 1-2 December 1988.

At the start of the session the Central Committee remembered the late Werner Felfe, Hans-Joachim Hertwig, and Ernst Hermann Mayer.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, gave the Politburo report which was unanimously approved by the Central Committee.

The Central committee made a decision to convene the 12th SED congress in Berlin from 15 to 19 May 1990.

Gerhard Schuerer, candidate of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, explained the draft of the 1989 National Economic Plan. The Central Committee approved the speech on the 1989 National Economic Plan, the bills on the 1989 National Economic Plan, and on the 1989 State Budget Plan. The bills will be sent for discussion and resolution to the People's Chamber.

Thirty-one speakers took the floor in the discussion.

The Central Committee decided to carry out an exchange of membership books and candidate cards during the period September to 31 December 1989 in the SED'S grassroot organizations.

The Central Committee elected Politburo member Werner Krolikowski as secretary of the Central Committee.

Central Committee Candidate members Ingrid Gerstenberger, Elke Krieg, and Gunter Rettner were elected members of the Central Committee.

Heide-Linde Mehlitz' Death Reported

AU0212205988 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 1 December on page 7 carries a 100-word notice of the National Executive Committee of the Democratic Women's League, saying that Heide-Linde Mehlitz, member of the Presidium and secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Democratic Women's League, died on 28 November at the age of 47. "We mourn a meritorious functionary who untiringly devoted her strength, her knowledge, and ability to the GDR and to peace," the note states.

Revised Regulations for Export of Goods

AU2211125788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Because of inquiries from GDR citizens in connection with export restriction for goods from other countries, the GDR Customs Administration informs the population that customs regulations have been revised in the interest of the citizens of the GDR. The following goods are not allowed to be exported without special permission: Meat and processed meat of all kinds; children's and baby's clothes out of all kinds of materials as well as baby wool, blankets for babies, diapers, sheets, blankets for changing babies, blankets and outfits for perambulators; textile and leather working clothes; knitted underwear; shoes of all kinds; bedclothes, material for bedclothes, and down; hosiery of all kinds; curtains and synthetic material for curtains; sugar; canned fruit and vegetables; almonds, sultanas, currants, raisins, candied lemon peel, grated coconuts; spices of all kinds; towels, kitchen towels, and table cloths; wallpaper and glue for wall paper; films for photocameras and motion-picture cameras; chemicals for developing photographs and photographic paper; branded porcelain; stamps; precious metals; jewels and products containing jewels; objets d'art; goods from archives; antiques and antique books; passenger cars unless they are used as transportation means; household machinery, gas stoves; wire mesh; television accessories and spare parts; minerals, fossils, and stones that are of great value for museums and collectors; narcotics and poisons; shares, savings bank books, and other securities; pharmaceuticals that are available only on prescription and similar substances and mixtures (this does not apply to pharmaceuticals that a person needs for his personal health during the journey); radio and transmitting equipment as well as spare parts and accessories; documents for patents, inventions, and research, technical drawings, documentations, topographic maps; valid or invalid currency and coins (valid currency and coins are allowed on journeys within the framework of the regulations for cross-border foreign exchange and payment transactions); firearms and cartridge ammunition, as well as explosives.

Special regulations apply to foreign citizens who derive income from employment in the GDR.

During 1-day journeys, objects whose export is permitted can be exported to the amount of M100, and during 2-day journeys goods worth M200 are allowed to be exported without permission and free of charge. If the limit is exceeded, permission from the customs office that is located at the border crossing point where the person leaves the country is required. It will be granted against the payment of a fee. The fee amounts to between 10 and 50 percent of the current retail prices.

At the same time it has to be taken into account that goods whose export is not prohibited can only be exported within the framework of the current regulations for retail goods.

Information about customs regulations can be obtained from all customs offices. Information about provisions of customs law and currency regulations is available at all border crossing points, travel agencies, and at the GDR State Bank.

Economic Statistics for October Reported

AU1011143988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to preliminary statistical data, the produced national income, has developed according to the plan.

In the field of industrial ministries, net production increased by 6.5 percent and labor productivity by 6.5 percent. Costs were reduced by 1.1 percent.

By the end of October, 177,887 apartments were handed over. Thus, housing conditions have improved for 543,000 citizens this year. By the end of October, retail trade turnover was 4 percent higher—5.3 percent in the sector of industrial goods—than in the previous year. The population's personal disposable income increased by 4 percent. In foreign trade the GDR continued to achieve an export surplus.

The plan tasks of the majority of the state plan targets were reliably fulfilled in October. Since the beginning of the year, the plan has been continuously fulfilled in a stable way with regard to such targets as caprolactam, polyvinyl chloride, optical glass, optical fiber cables, foil-memory floppy disks, foundry equipment, potato harvesters, color television receivers, household sewing machines, and hot-water boilers.

Further efforts are required to secure the complete fulfillment of the plan tasks regarding such products as outerwear for ladies and gentlemen, synthetic fibers, high-voltage switchgear, hydraulic products, spare parts, and cold-forming machine tools.

In the initiative "Return Funds to the State—Contribute to National Income" combines of the industry, the construction and the transportation sectors have again directly returned energy sources, raw materials, material and financial funds valued at M172 million to the state.

The high rate of the introduction of key technologies is continued in implementing the economic strategy. In the field of office and personal computers, production increased by 19 percent by the end of October. The production of computer memories was doubled. The production increase amounted to 28 percent in the sector of microlithographic apparatuses, to 35 percent in the sector of semiconductor elements and electronic apparatuses, to 31 percent in the sector of printers, and to 52 percent in the sector of monolithically integrated circuits.

In October 34 facilities of investment projects of great economic importance were put into service. These include facilities for the production of:

—aluminum sheets and strips in the VEB Light-Metal Works, Nachterstedt;

—K 6304 printers in the VEB "Ernst Thaelmann" Robotron Office Machine Works, Soemmerda;

—ignition distributors in the VEB Electric Installation Works, Pappenheim/Thueringen;

—beer in the VEB Beverage Combine, Frankfurt (Oder);

—cutting tools in the "8 May" Large Turning Machinery Construction, Karl-Marx-Stadt; as well as production facilities for raw brown coal in the VEB "Glueckauf" Brown Coal Combine, Knappenrode, Reichwalde Open Pit Mining, and in the VEB Brown Coal Works, Cottbus, East Seese Open Pit Mining. The overall implementation of the measures that have been taken is of great importance for the further dynamic and stable growth of the GDR's economic performance, so that the deadlines that have been set for the starting up of investment projects are reliably met, and the planned performance and efficiency parameters are achieved.

In the construction sector labor productivity increased by 4.9 percent. Costs were reduced by 0.6 percent. In the Bezirke of Leipzig and Dresden measures are required to eliminate backlogs in the construction of new apartments. In industrial construction, performance has to be concentrated on finishing the planned economic projects on schedule.

In agriculture, the potato harvest was concluded in October. The national economic plan for the state procurement of edible potatoes was fulfilled. In animal production the state procurement plan for slaughter animals was exceeded by 54,200 tonnes by the end of October, that for milk by 120,000 tonnes, and that for eggs by 182.6 million units. Forestry provided 233,300 cubic meters of unfinished wood in excess of the plan by the end of October.

In the transportation sector 23 million goods more than in the same period last year were transported within the country. The posts and telecommunications sector increased its services to supply the national economy and the population by 5.0 percent in telephone and telex communications.

In the individual sectors of industry the following growth in net production and labor productivity, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved by the end of October:

	Net Production	Labor Productivity	Reduction in Prime Costs
		—in percent—	
Coal and energy	5.9	5.6	0.8
Ore mining, metallurgical industry, and potash	2.6	3.3	0.5
Chemical industry	7.6	8.2	1.0
Electrical engineering and electronics	13.5	14.0	3.5
Heavy machinery and installation construction	5.3	6.1	1.1
Machine tools and processing machinery construction	7.7	8.4	1.5
General machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction	4.7	5.0	1.0
Light industry	7.7	4.5	0.6
Glass and ceramics industry	6.3	6.7	1.4
Bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry	5.2	5.7	0.7

Within bezirk-administered industry the following development per workday in the growth of net production and the production of manufactured goods for the population, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved:

	Net Production	Manufactured Goods for the Population	Reduction in Prime Costs
		—in percent—	
Capital city of Berlin	10.2	1.5	1.9
Cottbus	4.7	4.5	1.0
Dresden	4.6	5.5	0.7
Erfurt	6.9	6.4	1.6
Frankfurt	5.9	19.1	0.5
Gera	8.2	6.4	1.4
Halle	5.0	9.2	1.2
Karl-Marx-Stadt	3.9	5.2	0.4
Leipzig	5.6	6.2	1.2
Magdeburg	7.5	6.5	1.3
Neubrandenburg	4.2	2.0	0.5 increase
Potsdam	5.7	4.3	0.8
Rostock	8.0	6.7	1.0
Schwerin	8.5	8.4	1.5
Suhl	5.1	3.9	0.8

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-23 Nov

AU2511213588 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 18 to 24 November reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following Politburo members attended the welcoming ceremony for Nicolae Ceausescu at Berlin Schoenefeld Airport on 17 November: Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Joachim Herrmann, Guenther Kleiber, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, and Guenter Schabowski. (18 November, p 1)

The following GDR leaders attended talks between Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu in Berlin on 18 November: Politburo members Hermann Axen, Guenter Mittag, and Guenther Kleiber; and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. (19-20 November, p 1)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended a meeting of the SED Central Committee (CC) and the GDR Council of Ministers to discuss the intensification of agriculture in Berlin on 17 November: Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Krolikowski, and Margarete Mueller. (18 November, p 4)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended a meeting of locksmiths, masters, engineers, state farm chairmen, combine directors, and scientists in Berlin on 18 November: Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Krolikowski, and Margarete Mueller. (19-20 November, p 3)

The following Politburo members attended the opening of the 10th Fine Arts Congress in Berlin on 22 november: Kurt Hager and Harry Tisch. (23 November, p 1)

The following Politburo members attended a meeting of the International Preparatory Committee for the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Berlin on 23 November: Erich Honecker and Egon Krenz. (24 November, pp 1, 2)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, personally presented birthday congratulations to Rudolph Schulze, minister of post and telecommunications, in Berlin on 18 November. (19-20 November, p 2) Willi Stoph also received Sonomyn Lubsangombo, deputy chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, for friendly talks in Berlin on 21 November. (22 November, p 1)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member, met with Vasil Bilak, member of the CPCZ Presidium for an exchange of opinions in Berlin on 23 November. (24 November, p 2)

Horst Dohlus, Politburo member, attended a reception by the Hungarian ambassador to the GDR on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the MSZMP in Berlin on 23 November. (24 november, p 2)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, attended a meeting of the People's Chamber Education Committee in Berlin on 17 November. (18 November, p 2)

Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member, received a PZPR study delegation in Berlin on 23 November. (24 November, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and GDR defense minister, met with the SED-SPD work group on security in Berlin on 22 November. (23 November, pp 1, 2)

Inge Lange, Politburo candidate member and secretary of the SED CC, attended a bezirk party aktiv meeting in Leipzig on 17 November. (18 November, p 4)

Siegfried Lorenz, Politburo member and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, attended a celebration on the occasion of the "Day of Metallurgy Workers" in Berlin on 19 November. (19-20 November, p 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, Politburo member and president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society, met with Boris Snetkov, commander in chief of the Groups of Soviet Forces in Germany, in Berlin on 23 November) (24 November, p 6)

Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo, personally presented birthday congratulations to Norbert Geipel, member of the Brandenburg SED Bezirk leadership, in Neubrandenburg on 19 November. (21 November, p 2)

Alfred Neumann, member of the SED CC Politburo, visited railroad collectives in Berlin on 21 November. (22 November, p 3) Alfred Neumann also received the Finnish justice minister in Berlin on 22 November. (23 november, p 2) He also received Yi Kil-song, chairman of the DPRK Transport Committee, for friendly talks in Berlin on 23 November. (24 November, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the SED CC Politburo, received secretaries for economic policy of the city party committees of socialist capitals in Berlin on 21 November. (22 November, p 1)

Harry Tisch, member of the Politburo and chairman of the FDGB Central Executive Council, presented awards to workers in Berlin on 22 November. (23 November, p 1)

National TU Conference Meets, Reviews Policy

Situation of Movement Outlined

LD0212140088 Budapest MTI in English 1246 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian trade unions are to open a national conference in Budapest Friday afternoon. Before the conference, which is scheduled to last for three days, the over 1,000 delegates received three documents on the situation of the trade union movement, the safeguarding of interests, and the principles of the unions' draft constitution. Friday's "NEPSZABADSAG" carries a summary of the main political and economic policy conclusions.

The documents stress that, due to their former role in decision-making, the trade unions had also contributed to the current situation. The fact that the unions worked in the background and excluded the public made it more difficult for them to face problems and draw conclusions. The documents state that the political leadership should sharply dissociate itself from the errors committed in the previous period and precisely inform the population on the real economic situation as a prerequisite for creating a real position of safeguarding interests and the acceptance of the unavoidable social burdens. Otherwise, the unions will either raise irrealistic demands or be unable to tackle the demands that members consider justified.

The documents propose that, in keeping with the changing role of parliament, the unions should be entitled to nominate candidates and the MPS representing the unions to take unified action.

The document states that the movement should operate as a national federation organized from below which guarantees the autonomy of all trade unions. The practice that the trade union movement makes its decisions under the principles of democratic centralism is against minority interest and should be discontinued. In the future, the trade union bodies should make their decisions under the principles of consensus and solidaritym

The documents analyse in detail the current situation of the Hungarian economy, declaring that the market trends obviously bring about structural and transitional unemployment and, in several cases, global and lasting unemployment. The movement must face this challenge.

The idea of changing the name of the Central Council of Trade Unions will also be raised in the conference. The two proposals are Democratic Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, and National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions.

Sandor Nagy Addresses Group

LD0212230988 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Speech by SZOT Secretary General Sandor Nagy at SZOT conference in Budapest on 2 December—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed national conference, dear comrades: These days the country is watching the trade union movement. This attention is justified primarily by the fact that we have come to a crossroads, but one hopes that it is justified even more by the endeavours with which we want to change our situation. Thus, this national conference is an important stage in the life of the trade union movement which wants to renew itself by its own strength.

We know of the tensions which have accumulated in society and the changes which have long been demanded by the trade union membership, and we are in possession of the experience from a wide-ranging debate which took place most recently. Therefore, we must determine the main directions of the transformation, of the change, the political, organizational, and other conditions linked to it, and the most fundamental questions of the work of interest protection and interest representation. This is what the situation requires from us.

The renewal of the trade union movement and its search for the right path are connected with the political changes which began in our country in May this year, changes which have been evaluated in many ways ever since, both abroad and at home, voicing sympathy, agreement, and support, just as doubt and concern, and also opposition by some people.

Naturally, the trade unions also have their own experiences on all this. What they see is that within the space of a few months more has happened in this country than previously over many years. They also see that the political leadership is committed to fundamental changes and transformation and that it attempts to deal dynamically with the accumulated problems of a social, economic, and political character. They also see that the greatest foe is time, which, by its inexorable progress, urges the solution of tensions between the intentions that have been formulated, the realized endeavours, and the mechanisms which have remained from earlier times and which are still functioning.

They are also aware that for the moment there is an unbridgeable gap between the understandable and justified demands which have developed in society and the narrow scope for maneuver which is permitted to us by the inherited serious economic and political legacy. Beyond all this, they also find that in our society there are also present groupings which, not taking the real

situation into consideration, and (?armed with) a program and demands that are unrealistic, could advance not the solution of the problems but—intentionally or completely independently from their intentions—a deepening of the crisis.

Last but not least, the trade unions are also aware that because of the economic situation, which plays the decisive role in the development of the social mood, and as a result of the significant—and in some areas serious—social tensions that have developed on its basis, there is very great impatience, and at times passions appear to approach a critical level.

In the meantime, of course, we also have to take into consideration that because of an earlier mistaken economic policy, and a decisionmaking mechanism which at times shows lack of responsibility, a price has to be paid now. All these very sketchily drawn characteristics of the situation do not make the task of the trade unions a simple one. It is perhaps not even necessary to mention this; I do not think that anyone would claim that the opposite is true.

Esteemed comrades: The SZOT weighed up in several debates the functions and the role which the national conference should fulfill, taking into account the fact that neither our Constitution nor our practice contains this form, with the exception of a single instance. That was the first national conference held on 20-21 March, 1948, where the trade union movement took a turn—let me add, in the wrong direction—whose consequences influenced the history of this movement for a long time to come.

Returning to the original question, we reached the conclusion that the national conference is neither a congress nor merely a consultative forum where we speak for 2 days without reaching any decisions. It is not this that the more than 4 million trade union members expect from us. Thus the SZOT suggests that the national conference meeting today should set out the directions for the contentual and organizational renewal of the trade unions, and in close harmony with this it should give authorization for the working out of a new constitution reflecting these. Last but not least, it should outline the conduct and endeavors that should be followed in the most important interest protection and interest representation issues. It is these questions that I wish to go on to discuss now.

In June this year the SZOT published debate material and a documentary in the form of an appeal which evoked quite a reaction from among our members. The debate of the ideas formulated in June rather as a rough draft—and, quite frankly, at some points rather cautiously—has shown that the members accepted and reiterated the main line drafted during that debate. However, a number of points were qualitatively exceeded and were clearly defined. What we need now is not the development of these ideas but thorough changes in the Hungarian trade union movement.

The draft decisions, and plans forwarded to this national session already represent this view. When compiling the documents to be debated and suggested for approval, we tried to bear in mind many important starting points simultaneously. One of them was the following: What lesson has the past decades of the Hungarian trade union movement taught us. The other point of view was seeking an answer to the following question: What are the problems and challenges which the trade union movement has to face up to nowadays. And third, how to justify and draft the future role of the trade union movement.

As far as the first question is concerned, we are not in a very easy situation since we do not have conclusions and results based on deep analyses and a thorough research of the trade union movement's history after the liberation of this country following World War II. This work, of course, will have to completed before the next congress. One thing, however, is certain: We have to look for the core of the matter somewhere around the definition of the all-time main function of the trade union movement and the views on the political and social roles played by it. The first trade union congress held in 1945, right after the liberation of Hungary, unmistakably established that the task and indeed purpose of trade unions is nothing else but the protection of the economic, social, and cultural interests of physical workers and the intelligentsia. Then, in 1953, during the course of the 18th trade union congress, the party named the following as the main functions of the trade union movement. I quote: The main task of the trade unions, now and from now on, is to organize the fulfillment of the plan, to expand working competition and the Stahanovist movement, and to strengthen work discipline. According to the evaluations of the 19th trade union congress in 1958, the trade unions also had a part in the mistakes committed at the beginning of the fifties, the main reason of which they saw in that the leadership did not pay enough attention to the everyday needs of workers while struggling to increase production. This evaluation, by and large, meant a detachment from the ideology of the early fifties and also the practice of those years, but as far as the basic tasks were concerned no fundamental turning point was to arrive.

Until very recently the view survived that the following three factors were tasks of equal importance: The helping of production, the educational work carried out among the workers, and the protection of interests.

The Hungarian trade unions have naturally traveled a very long road and in the last few years the tasks of interest protection and representation have gained ever greater weight in their practical work. In spite of all this they still practice numerous methods that are alien to the

classical function of trade unions, and in their organizational and operational framework have retained a series of conditions created by earlier economic political mechanisms. [passage omitted]

The distortion of social role-playing precipitated the declaration of the trade union movement as a sharer in political power, ignoring the fact that this strengthened the operational logic of a monolithic political system, and did not represent the real interests of trade union membership.

All this, comrades, detracts nothing from the work of those trade union activists or from our estimation of their enthusiastic, honest, and devoted work. It is not their fault that they were not more successful.

Our current circumstances, show—and this is my second viewpoint—that amid numerous difficulties, tensions, and conflicts, the trade unions can only fulfill their calling if they devote all their energy to representing and protecting the workers' interests. [passage omitted] This can strengthen the trust of our membership which, by virtue of mass support, can develop the trade union movement into a real social political factor.

We must think in a similar manner about our future, in which the trade unions' place, role, and basic tasks must be culled from a pluralistic system of political institutions that will come into being and operate on the basis of a mixed ownership economy. [passage omitted]

Esteemed comrades, the above account is by no means merely a declaration of principle and theory, though without a doubt it has significance on this level. If we employ it consistently throughout the trade union movement, then it must permeate all our social political system of relations, every important element of the trade unions' organizational structure and operation. [passage omitted]

I would like to mention as a primary basic issue our relationship with the MSZMP. The trade unions' objectives coincide with the historic calling undertaken by the party. For this reason they wish to work in a society in which this party's leading social role is asserted. They are working for the realization of a democratic socialism building from below; they support the party's efforts aimed at this. At the same time, they understand this to mean that relations between the party and the trade unions represent a partnership, where the main principle is not subordination and superordination, but social and political interdependence. In this manner, excluding all doubt, we can state that the Hungarian trade union movement, enjoys full independence and performs its tasks independently of other organizations.

I know well that many people here will think, too, about political independence, as we noticed during the debate on the documents. I do not wish to remain silent on this. It is my personal opinion that there is no obstacle to the declaration of independence. Nor is any special political pluralism needed for it, either. We do have to take into consideration a few things, however, if we want to substantively answer this question. One answer is that nowhere in the world is there a trade union group in which the decisive or exclusive influence of some kind of political party is not asserted. The question, therefore, is not whether such political influence is asserted, but rather what is the nature of this influence and how, with what methods, with what tools, it asserts itself.

The other, perhaps even more essential viewpoint, is that we can say that we are independent of the party and of everyone else; the only thing we cannot say is that we are independent of the country's social and political realities, and even less that we are independent of the grave problems weighing on the country, or of the responsibility to examine the realistic alternatives to help to resolve them. This is a basic political stance; it also means political responsibility. I think we should leave no doubt about the fact that they are interested in the radical renewal of trade union employees' socioeconomic institutions, but renewal on a socialist basis.

Naturally, in connection with all this, it is difficult to evade the other question, which is how we see the future of our political institutions. In this regard, too, there are basic questions to which it is relatively easy to reply. The debates that have taken place in the trade unions confirm that a large proportion of workers supports the steps aimed at creating the guarantees of basic civil rights and at perfecting socialist constitutional statehood.

The work toward elaborating a new constitution, to regulate the law on association and assembly, for the creation of a new electoral law, for the shaping of legal conditions on the right to strike, and determining the trade unions' legal standing—to mention only the most important—is followed with interest by our members, and from these things they expect, among other things, that a democratically functioning social political model will evolve.

The problem of a single or multiparty system is a very complicated question which occurs today in many shapes and in many places. I do not wish to deal with these questions in detail and even less to make any predictions regarding the outcome of the debate on the single or multiparty system, all the less, because in my view, this question will be decided by the social development. But we would like to make it absolutely clear that it is not in the interest of the Hungarian trade union movement and of the workers represented by it that the trade unions should become the battlefield of smaller and bigger political groups. The Hungarian trade unions must endeavor to unite their members' different interests, ideological concepts, and political views. This will create a basis [word indistinct] for improving their possibilities to coordinate interests and to accomplish the tasks awaiting them in the process of solving the complicated tasks standing in front of society. On the

other hand it means that in the trade union movement most importantly we have to put the emphasis not on the monolithic structural political unity but on the unity resting on the uniformity of fundamental interests and which concerns the most fundamental interests of the country and the society.

All this leads us to a whole range of questions on the structure and organization which are laid out in the documents sent out. If I am to be brief, I have to say that we propose to the National Conference that it should stress that in the future the trade union movement should operate on every level of the organization, on the basis of genuine unity, and in the shape of a voluntary organization established on the decisions of the members and the trade unions. This concept proposes that voluntary groupings from independent trade unions form the backbone of the trade union movement in such a way that, to use the familiar phrase, the whole movement, is constructed and determined from below.

This organizational principle makes it possible for the members' demand to dominate with regard to their requirement for a differentiated organization according to professions. At the same time it proposes that the independent professional organizations form branch groupings, realizing the protection and representation of both the professional interests and the interests of the given working place. Putting it another way, we could also say that we have to loosen the strict and rigid division according to which trade union organizations are either craft or branch trade unions. In my view, we can live up to our historical traditions, the conditions of today, and the demands of the future if the right to decide is given to those most competent—the members. What kind of combination of craft and branch organization will investigate and protect their interest more efficiently? I add, this concept also corresponds to international practice. Likewise, it is our conviction that the craft, branch, and regional principles are not a contradictory alternative but a united system organized for the accomplishment of different tasks.

Naturally, in a trade union movement working this way the mechanism of decisionmaking is different from what we have been accustomed to so far. In a democratic organization, building itself from below and which has great independence within the federation, the path cannot be used on which the direction is carried out by a decision brought about on a majority basis in every single question cannot be tried, that is—the practice and principle of democratic centralism pursued up to the present time cannot be maintained. Instead of this, with regard to the questions of the protection and representation of interests, a concensus should be given preference, because this could form the basis of the joint stand, which coupled with the principle of solidarity could become the real strength of a genuine movement. All this does not mean that there will not be questions where decisions made on the basis of the majority will continue to dominate. [passage omitted]

In the drafted model, regarding the election of the different directing bodies, the following principles will come into prominence: The principle of representation and the principle of participation through the representatives delegated by the trade unions which participate in the organization at a given level. [passage omitted]

Esteemed listeners: In order that what we had said should come about in reality and that the trade union should work in the spirit of what I have said, there is a need for a new constitution, or as I have already mentioned, using its new proposed name, a new statute is needed. We ask for authorization to formulate this from the National Congress.

This time we have not had the means to present the conference with an elaborated draft statute; in our view we must first take a stand regarding the political and organization-political questions of the trade union which have been submitted here. It is on this basis that the SZOT will be able to work out the draft provisional statements, which, finalized on the basis of debate by the membership, can serve as the basis of the congressional elections brought forward to 1989, and the guaranted framework of organizational and personnel renewal.

There have been views put forward in this connection which consider the working out of new statutes objectionable, saying that once again the functioning of the organization is decided from above, and that it is not those forming the association who create the new rules of operations. This view, comrades, is a false one. It is false. After all, the SZOT wants to work out the new statutes only after a debate by the membership, and even then only with a provisional character. It is at the founding congress of the association that the final form of the statutes will have to be created and adopted, as I have mentioned, according to our plans in the fall of next year.

I would like to raise here the question that according to our recommendation, we also consider it right to change the name of the association to be created. This is not so as to repaint the shop sign but because the recommended new names, irrespective of which version is chosen, whould express more accurately the new content that is intended.

As regards the specific name, while I do not wish to advocate it at length here, personally I recommend the name the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions. I ask those present to think about why should we have to forego—because of wrong conditioning and earlier restrictions—the use of the term democratic.

In addition to all this, the real question, of course, is not this but rather whether we want to create a truly democratic organization. I think that on this issue the trade union movement is committed, independently from what name we shall give the association in the end. [passage omitted]

We have to make the trade union membership understand that in order to explore and to express the interests, there is no need for a great deal of strength—that is something that a few people can also do. On the other hand, to bring about the realization of interests, the strength of an organization is needed, and this can come about only through mass support achieved through solidarity. In all this, we bear a very great responsibility.

Nemeth Speaks at Session

LD0312000188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Speech by Prime Minister Nemeth at SZOT conference in Budapest on 2 December—recorded]

[Text] We are living at a time when every single element of the system of political institutions, the trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front, the party, the administration, and the state institutions, including the National Assembly, can and must renew themselves only jointly, proceeding together and helping one another, because any kind of rushing ahead—disharmony—will serve not the coordination of interests, not the country's better future, but the possibly self-seeking—and later on empty—renewal of certain institutions.

In the spirit of democracy and openness, I ask you—we in the government will do everything in the interest of renewing our own work—to support this renewal. And in return, we too will support, with our own tools and methods, your movement's renewal which proclaims a turnabout and a reform. [applause]

I am convinced that only a strong trade union, which formulates equally clearly in revealing, expressing, and asserting interests and which shows itself in deeds can be a substantive partner—or, as Comrade Nagy put it, in a socialist partnerlike relationship, with a government which is obliged to represent the interests not just of 40 people, not just of several hundred thousand people, but the interests of the country as a whole, and to assert them. And this is nothing less than keeping the country on its feet, guaranteeing the whole country's security of existence. At times, this can be accompanied by friction, quarrels, but I am convinced that in this process, learning the mechanism of interest representation and interest assertion, when we are mutually ready for compromises, for self-restraint, and when not only—to use Comrade Nagy's phrase—a trade union movement with a human face is characteristic, but also characteristic of the government and every element of the system of political institutions alike, that we pursue a pro-people and people-oriented policy, then in a few years time we will be able to say about these frictions, and at times quarrels, that we are building a more beautiful, better, and happier future.

I happily heard the contributions and also those thoughts of the introductory speech, which mentioned the SZOT-government cooperation, their changing relations. I also think, although I have only been in this seat for a few days, that something has started which we have to be able to safeguard, strengthen, and perfect. We could describe this, using slogans, as self-restraint, willingness to compromise, respect for one another, improving of our argumentative culture and readiness.

Even so I would like to make one observation and to express one thought in this connection. I agree with the speakers at this consultation who have said that it would be worth starting to rethink the mechanism of our decisionmaking system, incuding that of interest representation and interest assertion. It is certain that that mechanism and model are not good where on the one side stand the representatives and institutions serving the workers' interests which otherwise manifest themselves correctly in several centers and areas, and where the government stands on the other side, alone, all by itself. I support that mechanism and that model, and I am sure that it will carry us forward, where the interest representations will perform, themselves as well, interest assertion, interest coordination. And I am convinced that through this, not only the government but also the trade union movement, will become enriched with many, many experiences. My other observation in connection with this is: many, many wage policy tensions, backwardness, disproportion, have been raised here. And the decision of parliament's last session has also been raised. Namely that in place of a 55 percent profit tax parliament voted for 50 percent. In the course of the preparation for the latest SZOT-government consultation, we sat down still believing that parliament would vote for 55 percent. And we had already decided that, seeing the just demands, we would raise the originally planned 2-billion-forint central wage policy allocation, or we would go to 4 billion, almost 4 billion. Well, in the end it became 4.1 billion.

Parliament did not pass the 55 percent, only 50 percent, and during the weekend and past days the whole budget had to be be rebuttoned. Even so we said that in the course of the reworking no kind of examination could touch this earlier decision of ours; that this 4.1 billion forints should remain untouched. And we formulated a few premises for the reworking, for the rearrangement of the budget, which—I think—can at all events be followed in the given situation.

These were as follows: If possible we should try, by reducing expenditures, supports, to establish next year's budget deficit at 20-25 billion forints. Or, first and foremost, we should not put a further direct burden on the population, and we should if possible not take an inflation-boosting step in the course of the reworking. Second, let us not damage the enterprises' interest in nonruble-accounted exports, because we will be risking the future, the country's solvency. Let us pay attention to this as well. Third, let us maintain our earlier decision in this regard, that in certain fields of higher education, scientific research, in the fields of health service and culture, we will not touch the figures and decisions of the

earlier calculations. And I would inform you that at the debate-session of the Council of Ministers youth is also added to this order of priority, list of priorities.

We also decided that we would speed up, and this is not only the decision of the government, but of the political bodies as well, that we would speed up the reform labors in the coming months. This acceleration will mean priority tasks particularly for the administration in three areas. But, I might add, also in the party committees. First, we will have to begin to elaborate the tokens [jegyei] not of a price-mechanism and price policy, but of an economic policy of an anti-inflationary nature, and to determine its system of tools on the basis of the stabilization program, preserving all its priorities and objectives. Second, we must gradually .ransform the restrictive economic policy into a enterprise-enlivening economic policy, and in its store of tools we must set as our objective the liberalization of the conditions of management—degree by degree, year by year—cutting down bureaucracy, and the elimination of the jungle of legal regulations. We can realize this gradually, because I think it would be an illusion to eliminate in a short time all the alluvium that has been piled up during 40 years, for example that which has evolved in legal regulations.

In this reform work we are guided by the endeavor that gradually we should turn from distribution towards a production policy, so that we might satisfy the demand which was voiced here with justification, that the incomes of the strong, who create ever more resources, should be sufficient for the support of those who are lagging behind, who have been left in the cold for reasons beyond their control. For this reform program I request the support and help of the trade union movement, which is in the process of renewal. The government will be ready and open for dialogue, and for the acceptance and examination of every proposal. We ourselves, but I would add also the foreign forces who wish to support us, will have to be able to prove that we want to be in the vanguard not only in reform rhetoric, but also in our deeds.

Deputy Defense Ministers Relieved of Posts

LD0212221588 Budapest MTI in English
2145 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—On their retirement, Lieutenant General Istvan Horvath, chief of the Political Division of the Hungarian People's Army, and Lieutenant General Istvan Narai, head of the Training Division of the Hungarian People's Army, have been officially relieved of their posts as deputy defence ministers by the Council of Ministers.

At the same time, the Council of Ministers appointed Brigadier General Lajos Krasznai and Lieutenant General Janos Stock as deputy ministers, who took the oath of office before Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Present at the ceremony was Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence. The minister of defence appointed Brigadier General Lajos Krasznai as chief of the Political Division of the Hungarian People's Army and Lieutenant General Janos Stock as chief of the anti-aircraft and aviation division.

Walesa Comments on Planned Paris Visit

LD0312142588 Hamburg DPA in German
1327 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw/Lourdes (DPA)—The Polish workers' leader Lech Walesa will visit France 9-11 December. In a telephone call from Gdansk to DPA, Walesa said "everything points to my being able to undertake this trip." I can use the opportunity to present myself in Paris as a holder of the Nobel Peace Prize (1983), and to speak also at that time on several international questions, he said.

Walesa, who has influenza, was informed today that he could collect his passport, which he applied for a week ago. He will probably do this on Monday. [passage omitted]

Border Crossing Discussed With CSSR Envoy

LD0212211488 Warsaw PAP in English
1854 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—General director of Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Boguslaw Miernik, received here today the ambassador of Czechoslovakia, Josef Havlin, to discuss the negative phenomena which accompany the customs clearance of Poles who leave Czechoslovakia for Poland. The two agreed that effective measures should urgently be taken to restore normal conditions of crossing the border.

Miernik pointed out that rigorous and detailed checking by Czechoslovak customs officers, as well as confiscation of even small quantities of food products and other articles carried by Poles across the border, evokes the feeling of bitterness and discrimination with Polish tourists. Recognizing the right of the Czechoslovak side to introduce limitations on the individual transfer of goods, one cannot disregard the side effects of those decisions, such as hindrances in railway and road traffic which result in tourists lining up for hours at checkpoints and prompt unfriendly reactions of the Polish public opinion, Miernik added.

The sides also discussed some other aspects resulting from the current situation at border crossings between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Reaction to Miodowicz-Walesa TV Debate

Miodowicz Interviewed on Talks

LD0212114788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0730 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] SZTANDAR MLODYCH talks to Alfred Miodowocz [on debate with Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa]. In his view the meeting passed the test. Above all, it was conducted in a spirit of understanding and accord even though each side presented its own views and arguments, which they defended and did not abandon.

Are you pleased with yourself? SZTANDAR MLODYCH asked. Alfred Miodowicz replied that he was not pleased, explaining that it was not possible in a conversation lasting 40 minutes to unravel many complicated problems. Moreover, if one is the initiator and the host of the first such meeting one assumes a special responsibility. However, he was pleased with the style which he managed to give this meeting. This was a serious talk between two people who have something to say, not just to each other but also to all Poles. We did not go in for a battle of words which would have compromised us, Alfred Miodowicz declared.

The SZTANDAR MLODYCH journalist recalls that the National Trade Unions Accord chairman is universally known to be a polemicist of great spirit: Why was he then so calm in his demeanor? Alfred Miodowicz replied that the idea of this meeting was rapprochement and not confrontation. As the host he felt obliged to adjust his style of speech. More than anything else it was important to him that this was the first but certainly not the last conversation.

All viewers are wondering: What next? Well, that's just it. Talks should be continued out of the limelight—that's what we should do and, secondly, the roundtable could be a marvellous opportunity for holding discussions on many problems which we touched upon with Mr Walesa and which we did not have time to broach. Thirdly, we would like to continue to take advantage of the courtesy of viewers.

I propose that a discussion should be held twice a month, about the problems of workforces and their union representation, and that people of various viewpoints, concepts, and experiences should be invited to take part, Alfred Miodowicz stated in his interview with SZTANDAR MLODYCH.

Press Assesses Debate

LD0212140688 Warsaw PAP in English
1240 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—TRYBUNA LUDU today carries a commentary by Ryszard Drecki headlined "if we really wish for agreement..." reading in part:

"The very fact that such a discussion has taken place was proof of the degree of advancement of processes of openness in Poland, a manifestation of a democratization of internal relations in Poland. Years back it would have been difficult to imagine similar or comparable TV events. It in itself shows the falsehood of allegations of 'marking time' in reformatory processes in our life.

"One can state with appreciation or even satisfaction that Walesa's address brought several statements and theses in a reconciliatory tone, leaning towards agreement, which by no means was obvious beforehand. They allow one to state that the debate practically showed a

certain most general concordance of both discussants as to the fact that through discussion it is possible to tackle, review and solve all burning Polish problems.

"One could even deem conciliatory approach as the dominating element in Lech Walesa's TV appearance on Wednesday," Drecki says and goes on to ask several important questions concerning the validity of this approach in Walesa's overall position.

"Walesa said that 'Solidarnosc', the legalization of which he proposes, would be a different one, different as concerns program and cadres, than that from seven, eight years back. Can one believe this if he has never—at least in public—presented a self-evaluation of that former 'Solidarnosc', if by dissociating himself from anarchy and destruction in the future he did not refer to acts of anarchy, destructive strikes, occupation of offices and similar activities of his movement in the past.

"Walesa said on TV that also as concerns cadres the possible future 'Solidarnosc' would not be the same. Should one understand that what is at issue here is the composition of the leadership and its advisors? If so, then why on various occasions does he so stubbornly defend and even promote—I would say—to the front ranks people like Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, who of course represent a confrontational course in the group of former 'Solidarnosc' advisors? Can one believe in this 'cadre renewal'?"

"Millions of Poles on Wednesday listened to Lech Walesa who was rather conciliatory, calm and leaning towards agreement. Not many people know however his speech delivered last Sunday following mass at St. Brigida's Church—an address of unequivocally confrontational meaning. Did some change occur in his views in three days? Are the tones from Sunday a thing of the past?

"Perhaps the list of questions like this could be extended but that is not the point. The important thing is that the credibility of these conciliatory tones and accents encouraging dialogue which could be heard from Lech Walesa in the said TV debate hinges upon reply to these questions or the problems they deal with."

The Miodowicz-Walesa TV meeting was another important step in the process of development of various forms of expressing by the society's representatives different stands, views and world-outlooks, of creation of the system of institutions serving the participation of different groups in the socio-political life. It was a step bringing closer the chances for calling up the round table debate with participation of still other people who would surely present their own, different points of view, states today's RZECZPOSPOLITA.

"The TV debate proved the assumption that to resolve many key dilemmas of today a will on the part of all sides is necessary. It also showed that there was a chance for reaching an agreement and compromise satisfying these sides," the daily went on.

"The meeting between Miodowicz and Walesa should be treated first of all as another stage on the road to stabilization, a proof of practical culture," the paper concluded.

Commenting on the debate, the SZTANDAR MLODYCH daily said in part:

"In the talk, many hard and lofty words were spoken as the interlocutors touched upon the most significant Poland's issues. Miodowicz and Walesa shared the concern over Poland and the working people's condition, but they were divided over the methods and ways of realisation of these superior objectives. Hence rapproachment of stands has not been reached.

"The majority of people who watched the TV debate did surely think: Let that agreement-seeking tone heard in declarations be confirmed by facts," the paper said.

Rakowski Lecture on Reform Reported

LD0412160188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY publishes the text of Mieczyslaw Rakowski's lecture given on 25 November at the Association for Foreign Policy in Vienna. We read in the PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY:

The strategic aim of the reform forces in Poland is not a correction of socialism nor a cosmetic redecoration, but a qualitative change of the realistic existing socialist formation. We are dealing with a fundamental restructuring of the system, a complete departure from the economic and social model formed under the overpowering influence of Stalin. We want to create a model which assures the uninhibited development of creative forces as well as facilitating the maximal utilization of the abilities, initiatives, and inventiveness of individuals. In other words, one should strive toward building a socioeconomic system in which the individual will feel released from the petty care of bureaucracy, both state and party, and each diktat which is not sourced in the natural laws governing society and the economy. Today, after several years of reform action, we see more clearly and explicitly the need to carry out very deep changes in socialism than at the time when, in an almost euphoric mood, we announced the program of socialist renewal.

Economic reform is at the stage of being implemented and no one can put a stop to it. That is an indisputable fact but its implementation is not taking place without any resistance or conflict. The reform has revealed various divergent interests in society. Conservative attitudes have made themselves apparent, and so have

strong attachments to the bureacratic methods of governing, egalitarian tendencies, and doubts and a lack of strong will among the adherents of reform.

It is obvious that a struggle between the old and the new is being fought over the reform, conservatism with progress. Its key significance in the process of reforming socialism is obvious. Without it the removal of obsolete social and political structures and their replacement by new ones would be impossible. On the other hand, progress on the sphere of reforming the economy requires the democratization of sociopolitical relations. We are, therefore, dealing with phenomena which mutually complement each other.

When presenting my point of view on the changes which are taking place in socialism, I think is is imperative to make the following observations: The intiatiated reform continues to be in its introductory phase. There are many important social, economic, and political problems, to which an answer must be found. The changing role of the Communist Party, the political results of recognizing the pluralistic character of the socialist society, the opposition's place in the system, the substances and character of trade union pluralism, those are the more important ones—in public life there are no ready made prescriptions for them.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski's text was given the title "Nearer to the Aim" by the PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY editor.

Economic Committee Views Gdansk Initiative

LD2411124488 Warsaw PAP in English
0100 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 23—The government's streamlining policy also means barriers to many functions and possibilities of the center in favour of growing powers for local authorities and industrial enterprises. Further changes will move in this direction in line with the consolidation plan. They are to be aided by a document titled "The Gdansk Self-Government and Economic Initiative" being a part of the Gdansk 200 program.

The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers (KERM) discussed here Wednesday the key problems of the Gdansk viovodship against the background of the implementation of the voivodship's socio-economic plan for the years 1986-90.

The document stresses that Gdansk does not need any new large industrial investments. Proper conditions should only be secured for Gdansk fully using its present potential. The implementation of the "initiative" would mean to transfer the tasks and powers from the voivodship to the regional level, to achieve within two years financial self-sufficiency as far as the whole voivodship and particular rural districts are concerned and to create conditions that could facilitate a gradual integration of port towns and port-industrial complexes.

The debate was preceded by vice-premiers and ministers visiting the work establishments of the tri-city [Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot]

We have adopted such a style of work, said Vice-Premier Sekula opening the meeting, so as to meet at 4-6-week intervals in those cities which undertake local initiatives and show extraordinary activity. This corresponds to the general direction of the economic reform which leads to qualitative changes. Its gist is, he underlined, to pass competences down, to create communal property with simultaneously reducing the range of central authority and changing its role. In such conditions the importance of local initiatives grows.

Starting the discussion, the first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Gdansk Marek Holdakowski said that considerable disproportions in the development of the Gdansk voivodship had caused that a great industrial potential existed there which was not fully utilized and the standard of living is much worse than in other parts of Poland. Gdansk does not want to wait, he said, and this gave rise to the project made by (?public) experts. Its value also lies in that we want to integrate the local community for the sake of the economic reform and the chance that it brings.

A co-author of the "Gdansk Self-Government and Economic Initiative," Prof. Jerzy Kolodziejski from the Gdansk Polytechnics, drew attention on this project. Addressing KERM members, he called for giving an opinion on the applicability of undertakings proposed in the initiative, and for permission to prepare detailed proposals and starting an experiment in Gdansk and Gdynia so that after 1991 the new concepts became a rule.

On the basis of the forwarded materials and conclusions from the discussion KERM made a number of decisions concerning provisional and long-term activities. KERM acknowledged the Gdansk self-management and economic initiative as a precious sign of activity which enriches the proposals for further reform of the system of territorial economy and the territorial self-government of the country. The concepts proposed in the project have been accepted. They have a guiding character and will be utilized in the course of legislative works. Their major outlines have been accepted by KERM as convergent with the general concept of reforming the economy and the plan for its consolidation.

Transcript of Urban's 29 Nov Press Conference

AU0212140188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Nov 88 pp 1,5,6

[Transcript of press conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 27 November]

[Text] Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's weekly press conference for domestic and foreign journalists began with a commentary on the subject of the new stereotyped image of government activity currently being presented by the Western press.

[Urban] First of all, I would just like to ask Mrs Kagragic not to stand in the way of the camera, because this is the most serious Polish-American conflict that we have had in recent times.

A new stereotype has been propagated in the Western press. Almost everywhere, journalists are writing that Premier Rakowski and his government are undertaking radical economic reforms and aiming to improve the material situation of Poles in order to avoid political reforms, avoid sitting down at the "roundtable," and avoid any accord with the moderate opposition, but to leave this opposition on the sidelines. They claim that Rakowski is pursuing a pro-reformist policy, but without any democratization.

Andrew Borowiec has written in THE WASHINGTON POST that, judging from the views of people who know Rakowski, he believes that in the present tense and complicated situation, permitting any form of political pluralism would only increase the tension. (I am quoting from a "Voice of America" report on this article).

There are dozens of similar assessments. Views like this are practically obligatory for Western commentators when writing about the Rakowski government. However, this is nonsense.

A member of the leadership of a party whose program insists on an indivisibility between political and economic reforms is being accused of pursuing one category of the reforms but not the other. This accusation is being directed against a politician who has filled bookshop shelves with books that profess the need for profound political reforms. This is being said of a premier who, forestalling the possible "roundtable" talks and compromises, tried to skip a few stages in transformations and invited members of the constructive opposition to take part in his government. This is being said of a head of a government whose interior minister originated the idea of the "roundtable" and promoted it.

The premier's administrative apparatus is dishing out permission for new opposition-minded clubs and associations to register and commence their activity. Is that supposed to prove that the premier is against pluralism? A government committee is discussing a bill on associations designed to expand the political variety of public associations. Is that supposed to mean that the premier is against pluralism? And finally, do these radical economic reforms that we are planning and implementing not constitute a base on which to implement profound social and political changes and democratization? Is this not a basis on which to restructure relations, and not just economic ones? Even a blind person would say that it is. Therefore, Western commentators are more than blind, or pretend they are.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski said in Vienna, and I quote REUTER: "Right now we still have a 52 percent majority in the Sejm, and this will probably change. We will no longer be the only ones in Poland who make the decisions. The days when the communist party could make every decision on its own are long past." Was that said by a hardline dogmatist, a relic of the Stalinist era, an opinion held by, for example, DIE WELT, which also places in this same category Wojciech Jaruzelski, a leader who professes far-reaching democratic changes in Poland?

The Western press accuses the premier and his team of making decisive pro-reform moves without waiting for the outcome of the "roundtable," without waiting for the opposition's approval. What is the government supposed to do if the constructive opposition has no inclination toward constructive cooperation and no desire to assume joint responsibility? Is the government to sit back and wait until it receives a vote of confidence? Are we to deal with the objections of groups of oppos tionist intellectuals instead of the demands and expectations of the majority of society?

At the same time, the reforms do not clash with the conclusions and proposals of people whose political colors are different from ours and who want things to improve in Poland. On the contrary, the reforms incorporate the thoughts of reformers not only in the PZPR, but also in the ZSL and SD. Does the opposition want nothing to improve in Poland until its personal ambitions have been satisfied?

Today the press is publishing an article by Colonel Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center, in which he says that in the space of 2 months, the Rakowski government has achieved the support of 72.4 percent of Poland's adult population. These people, says Kwiatkowski, believe that Rakowski is acting in accordance with society's interests and serves society well. The number of those who believe the political situation will improve is three times greater than the number of those who think it will not. The optimism of Poles has doubled in this period. Some 58 percent approved of the decision to close the Gdansk Shipyard, and less than half this figure condemned it. Some 76 percent of the adult population believes that the Rakowski government is a pro-reformist one, and 61 percent feel that he is a firm supporter of simultaneous political and economic reforms. Confidence in Rakowski has risen from 35 percent when the Sejm appointed him, to 70 percent today. That means that confidence in him has doubled in 2 months.

I interpret this data differently than Stanislaw Kwiatkowski. I am not as enthusiastic as he. I know that social approval is very fickle, and social moods are subject to change. Neither do I consider the present degree of support and confidence sufficient. Verbal support is not necessarily followed by practical support. In any case, it is a fact that most Poles assess the new government's work differently from the way the Western press does. I need not explain whose opinions we consider to be more important.

Western commentators are dismayed by the fact that the Rakowski government (by which I also mean the political leadership) has started to emerge from the impasse and improve its position among the internal structure of forces, without waiting for active cooperation from the constructive opposition. The reasons for this dismay are totally false. What government in the world refuses to satisfy social needs until it can share any of its successes with the opposition? What political force is not aiming to improve its social position? Do the critics of Rakowski's government know of any such case in the world?

Of course we want more social confidence, in and support for, us, and we want greater political strength, because this will facilitate, not exacerbate, future accord and compromise with our partners. However, we do not intend to restore a political monopoly and to stifle pluralism. We are not dullards who are insensitive to the significance of the past and the challenge of the future.

In an interview in the 22 November CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Adam Michnik, who was meant to take part in the "roundtable" and prepare the Miodowicz-Walesa TV debate, says the following: "The disappointed Polish opposition will probably head toward revolution and political confrontation now." He also said: "Our situation is similar to the situation in France before the French Revolution. I am against the guillotine and the death sentence, but this government is going to lose its power by means of an explosion. By closing the shipyard and breaking off the talks with 'Solidarity,' the government has paved the way to a violent, uncontrolled upheaval." That is the end of the quotation, which foresees for Rakowski the same fate as King Louis XVI. I am happy to say that these views come from the distant political fringe.

Adam Michnik laments the fact that all these cataclysms, upheavals, guillotines, and executions that he predicts will harm Mikhail Gorbachev. That means we have a situation where the destructive opposition actually believes that Mikhail Gorbachev is good and worthy of support, whereas Jaruzelski and Rakowski are evil and represent a policy opposite to Gorbachev's. This is simply another case of absurdity, another show of powerless anger. No one in the world draws such comparisons, neither in the Soviet Union, nor in Poland, nor in any other socialist country.

Comparisons between Mikhail Gorbachev's policy and that of Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Rakowski government sometimes assume a funny shape. UPI has said that at the usual political rally following mass at St Brygida's Church in Gdansk last Sunday, Lech Walesa lamented the fact that the Polish authorities are not implementing political reforms in accordance with the Soviet's perestroyka. We have been accused in the past of being puppets of Moscow, and yet all of a sudden we are being criticized for failing to emulate the Soviet Union.

Not only that; Lech Walesa even called for Soviet intervention. He said things like this (and I quote UPI): "Mr Gorbachev, there are people who are interfering with the reforms. If you help us implement the reforms, we will help you." A short time ago, Lech Walesa's political guide, Father Henryk Jankowski, called socialism a collection of putrid doctrines that are politically extinct. He also demanded Poland's economic independence from the Soviet Union. However, at the rally, when Walesa called on Mikhail Gorbachev for help against Rakowski, his supporters shouted "Down with communism" and "Communists to the stake."

Calling on a leading Soviet Communist for help against Polish Communism and, at the same time, promising death to all communists whatsoever—well, I do not consider that logical thinking.

Finally, a few remarks about Mieczyslaw Rakowski's visit to Austria. Some Western commentators viewed it as a fiasco because Austria refused government credits to Poland. I tell you that we consider this visit very fruitful and advantageous. Premier Rakowski had no intention of asking for credits, and there was no talk at all of credits for Poland during his talks with Chancellor Vranitzky. When Rakowski told the press about the Vienna talks on the subject of credits, what he meant was the problem of the credits Poland received in the past, and the problem of repaying them. That was indeed discussed in Vienna. Rakowski clearly said on Austrian TV that he had not come to ask for credits and that in the future he was not going to travel around Europe begging for alms.

Our assumption is that the Austrian visit will lead to a development of mutually advantageous cooperation between enterprises, and will encourage various greater and lesser initiatives concerning economic cooperation.

I wish to explain that the premier did not say he would not travel around Europe begging for alms just because his national pride had been hurt because of constant Western allegations that we are begging for credits. We want a normalization of economic relations, and we want a realistic approach toward the speed and rate at which we should repay our debts. However, we are not counting on any major credits from the West. We know we will not get any. Our economic calculations are based on the reforms which will mobilize the reserves inherent in the Polish economy and will liberate Polish initiative. We are counting on our own strength and on increased, modern cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We are open to the development of all cooperation with the West, even economic cooperation, especially cooperation between enterprises. Whoever thinks differently of Polish Government intentions either accuses us of a lack of realism, or of a tendency to bow to political pressure, something we did not do even in the most difficult times.

We are not letting ourselves be tricked about receiving a bigger carrot if we achieve progress with the reforms; a carrot raised higher and higher by the main political forces of the West. We realize that the greater our progress, the higher this carrot will be raised, until it reaches a height that would threaten the security of our borders or, to, put it more broadly, the Polish raison d'etat, including our domestic stability. Huge Western credits to heal our wounds as a result of the domestic conflict foretold by Adam Michnik would not be profitable at all for Poland.

I thought I should make our line of policy vis-a-vis the West more clear, because many Western commentators are under the impression that we are suffering from seeing mirages and do not see what kind of world we are living in and what kind of instrumental role dominant Western forces have assigned to Poland.

Please be patient a little longer, because I want to speak out on a few more subjects. The Polish authorities think highly of the talks between distinguished parliamentarians in Warsaw. This conference was important for Europe and beyond. The fact that the first ever international parliamentary conference has taken place in Warsaw possesses clear political significance. It shows that Poland will not let itself be brushed aside, and that the Polish authorities are playing an increasingly significant role in Europe. We appreciate the efforts of our guests to provide this conference with substance. The Warsaw conference was a sign of new thinking, a sign of respect for political differences, and a major step forward in building a common European home.

Now a few words about the government's work. I want to tell you about the progress in reforming the system of control over the state administration. So far, the number of inspectors in ministries and offices has been cut by 61 percent, in other words from 670 to 260 people, involving the abolition of independent control departments in practically every single government office. Most voivodship offices have also abolished their control departments, leading to a 16 percent reduction in the employment of inspectors.

On 17 October, the government obligated all ministers to reduce the number of personnel in eight specialized control bodies by 20 percent before the end of the year. That means a total of 1,175 less people.

Ministers were supposed to decide themselves how to carry out these cuts or to present suggestions. The suggestions that have been submitted are currently being analysed. There is also work on a bill to control the work of economic units. However, this bill must be in harmony with the economic activity act, therefore it is not possible to accelerate this work right now.

In fact, these alterations to the system of control require many amendments to legislation, and preparatory work in this direction has already started.

Finally, a few words about the latest meeting of the Government Economic Commission, which decided that every Pole traveling out of the country can take up to $500 with him, without any formalities. This is the first step toward greater freedom concerning convertible currency and toward abolishing various irrationalities. After all, it was irrational to have to go to a bank and pay dollars into one's account before leaving Poland. That only inconvenienced bank employees and tourists. I mention this because this is one of various minor government moves designed to make life easier. It should also be said that this was the idea of the voivoda of Szczecin, Malec.

And one last matter. Radio Free Europe said that Mrs Rita Suessmuth, the new chairman of the FRG Bundestag, was awaited at Warsaw Airport by Premier Rakowski, who wanted to talk to her. This is a petty matter, but nevertheless surprising, because it was Mrs Suessmuth who wanted to talk to Rakowski.

Andrea Tarchi, LA REPUBBLICA: I have two questions. Will the Miodowicz-Walesa TV talk take place ot not?

Urban: I have no interest in the matter. It is OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz's idea, and I know, as everyone else does, that he has invited Lech Walesa to take part. I do not want to say anything more, especially because the trade unions get upset when the government spokesman interferes in their affairs.

Tarchi: The second question. In Budapest last week, party Secretary Nemeth and Premier Grosz both told me that they talk to the opposition and consider the opposition indispensable. They said they discuss pluralism, because discussions on such topics are necessary in order to implement the reforms. Does this approach by the Hungarian authorities serve as an example to the other socialist countries, including Poland? Does Poland also intend to employ this method of normal talks with the opposition?

Urban: I find your question odd. I would not want to argue with the Hungarians about priorities, but technical preparations for the "roundtable" are underway, and various kinds of talks with the opposition, at least the constructive opposition, have existed for a long time in Poland.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME: Several days ago, a party committee criticized the national economic consolidation plan. Would you care to comment?

Urban: The government, represented by Deputy Premier Sekula, presented the reasons in favor of this plan. This plan is still a draft plan, and it was the draft that was discussed. Although this was an important forum, it is not the only one at which the plan has been discussed.

Before the draft plan becomes a final plan, the government is bound to consider the views of various bodies, including an important body like the Central Committee Economic Commission.

As usual in such cases, opinions can only be taken into consideration if they do not contradict each other and do not clash with the general government line. In other words, this is a question of discussion and of harmony between various stances.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: In Lodz, Premier Rakowski said that partnership means that each side understands the possibilities and limits of the other side. Do you think the government has sufficient understanding of the possibilities and limits of Mr Walesa? What do you think of Walesa's intentions toward the government?

Urban: I believe we do understand the possibilities and limits, in the fullest sense of these words, of all the persons and forces on the Polish political scene, of which we are, of course, keen observers. However, I find it hard to answer your question about Walesa, because his intentions are being made known in various ways. Perhaps when the "roundtable" materializes, his intentions will become clear at last.

Renate Marsch, DPA: I have two questions. First of all, 1 January is approaching, from which date invitations will no longer be required in order to travel to the West, and yet you say that Poles can take $500 with them. Does that also come into effect on 1 January, or later?

Second, passport offices still have no idea of how things will be in the future. When will they receive the new instructions? Can citizens be sure they will not have to present an invitation in order to obtain a passport?

Urban: I cannot answer such technical questions. Decisions are decisions. However, as far as their implementation is concerned, you would have to ask the relevant institutions. My office might give you a reply after it has received all the details.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: You mentioned preparations for the "roundtable" talks, but the table itself has just been taken apart in Jablonna. Is that a preparation, or the opposite?

Urban: Politically, the "roundtable" has not been taken apart. Only the piece of furniture has been taken apart, and not for political reasons either, but for financial ones. The institution that rented the Jablonna Palace from the Polish Academy of Sciences for the "roundtable" could no longer afford to pay the high rent. Other events are taking place there now. The table can remain in pieces for the time being. It will be put together again when the time comes. Please do not attach any political meaning to this.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: In your fervor, you have presented us with various statements—by Walesa, Michnik, and others. These speeches are no doubt meant to prove that intelligent conversations with such people are impossible. The statements by these gentlemen that you quoted were merely their views about the situation and the future. Mr Michnik did not say he wants a revolution. He said that the situation is revolutionary. If the holding of views different from those of the communist authorities is enough to exclude one from talks, then who exactly is the government going to talk to?

Urban: Your question is surprising, because basically we want to talk to anyone who thinks differently and who is ready to constrain his political ambitions in accordance with the legal and constitutional principles that were established a long time ago.

I presented various different views, and there are certainly views that do not create any platform for dialogue.

Marek Kassa, Polish radio: The Health Employees Trade Union Federation has entered into a collective dispute with the government. What is the government's next move?

Urban: Yes, it is a dispute about the size of the funds allocated for wage increases in the health service. On 22 August, Z36,600,000 were allocated for this purpose. The trade union is demanding additional funds in order to increase wages as of 1 October, so that wages may reach 90 percent of the average wages in the state economy.

The dispute is between the Health Employees Trade Union Federation and the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

A working meeting to discuss the dispute is taking place today, or is supposed to take place today, what time I do not know, and the negotiations proper will start on 1 December. One can say that in view of the planned reform to the health service, including the planned new rules for shaping wages, an accord should be possible, provided that both sides manifest good will. Perhaps an accord will not even be difficult.

The ministry intends to abolish the maximum size of funds for bonuses and the maximum size of individual bonuses. Furthermore, it wants to create, as of the new year, a permanent index of wages in relation to average wages in the material production sphere. In fact, this applies to wages in the entire budgetary sphere. Eventually, this plan calls for an index of 104 percent in the budgetary sphere, in relation to average wages in material production.

That is all I have to say about this right now. Because these talks are only just starting, their participants should not discover the ministry's stance from the press, but should discover it during the talks themselves.

John Daniszewski, AP: The communique on the talk between General Kiszczak and Mr Walesa 2 weeks ago was very short. All it said was that no agreement had been reached and that contacts aimed at a rapprochement between both stances would be continued. Could you explain which points the participants failed to agree on, and in what way the contacts aimed at a rapprochement will be continued?

Urban: No, I cannot, because these talks were meant to be confidential and remain so. I can only assure you that contacts are proceeding on the subject of technical matters, and that one can expect them to be successful.

Monika Olejnik, Polish Radio: Maciej Manicki, chairman of the Shipping Industry Trade Union Federation, said that the workers council of the Gdansk Shipyard has filed a court complaint about the legality of the decision to close the shipyard. According to the law on workers self-managements, this decision ought to be suspended. Could you comment?

Urban: Government lawyers do not agree with this, because the decision to close the shipyard was made on the basis of the law on the extraordinary powers of the Council of Ministers. This law provides that if a decision to close an enterprise is issued on the strength of these special powers, then all other procedures connected with the liquidation of an enterprise must be suspended.

Right now, the Gdansk Regional Court is investigating this complaint, and we will see what it decides. I am presenting the stance of the government lawyers.

To this, I can add that on 1 December, as is generally known, the shipyard will go into liquidation, and one can expect its receiver to present ideas about how to use the Gdansk Shipyard's production assets and restructure its former production potential.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: Mr Minister, about various issues connected with the elimination of procedures that waste time—You gave a very good example, that of paying in dollars on one day and taking them out the next day to take them abroad, and the straightforward elimination of this procedure. It seems to me that a great deal of time is also lost because of the need to fill out a form, that is to file a so-called application, whenever anyone wants to go abroad.

As there are very few cases of people being denied passports in Poland, and the government can always find some way of canceling the validity of a passport, why are people not able to keep passports valid for every country at home?

The argument that is put forward, and you did so yourself, is that the passport office would have to be completely computerized first of all. I would just like to point out in the case of Great Britain, people have been able to keep passports at home for a long time now. This was something that was introduced long before British passport offices were computerized. So, I would like to ask why this still has not happened in Poland and when, in the foreseeable future, will it be possible to keep every kind of passport at home in a drawer?

Urban: Let me assure you that your suggestion would have a good chance of being accepted quickly were it not for the fact that someone else has beaten you to it—you are not the first person to have thought of this. I think that shortly, at some point in the next few days, the government will announce that it will become possible to obtain passports that are valid for several years and that it will be possible to keep them at home and go abroad whenever one wants. The premier has issued instructions to the effect that this issue should be examined and dealt with.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: The latest public opinion poll to have been conducted shows that people want rapid economic reforms. My paper has interviewed a number of directors of both small and large plants, and according to them, the current taxation system presents the biggest obstacle to increased output. Are there plans to radically change the current system?

Urban: There are. Preparations are being made for radical changes to the current system. This is implicit in the bill on economic activity that the government has submitted to the Sejm. To remind you, the bill envisages that enterprises in all sectors will operate according to the same principles, which means that the taxation system has to be overhauled, so that this equality is also reflected in taxation. This is a very complicated business.

However, even before the enormous amount of work involved in this is completed and a new taxation system is established, enterprises will be taxed according to new principles beginning next year—principles that will promote independence and self-management.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: Mr Minister, a month or so ago we were told that the text of the draft law on associations had already been prepared. The text has been published and press reports have suggested that the Sejm will pass the new law on associations this year. However, according to recent reports, work on the law seems to have been held up or delayed, and we should not expect it to come into force until the first quarter of 1989.

Does this mean that the process of political reform in general has been halted or is it being in some sense held back? Could you tell us what stage work on the bill has reached?

Urban: First, I would like to say that delays of 1-3 months do not warrant speculation about possible political reasons. We are not talking about an express train, but about fundamental changes that have a very far-reaching character.

Second, the bill is the subject of consultations and discussions at present.

Third, the delays stem from differences with regard to concrete matters connected with the bill, as well as the course of parliamentary work and the government's preferences. The important point is that the new economic year begins on 1 January, and we want the Sejm to have completed an enormous amount of work related to laws on enterprise, foreign capital and the planning office by then. We want to be able to enter the new year with new principles for the running of the economy.

As for public life, it is not so closely linked to any time-table, and the practice of registering an increasing number of associations means that real political change is not being held up. So, some delays are possible, but there are no grounds for reading political designs into them.

Evelia Maitret, Mexican Television: Mr Minister, can we expect the national currency to be changed over the next few months as a means of combatting inflation?

Urban: I would like to assure you once again that this is not the case. No, the national currency will not be changed.

Stefan Dietrich: Will Premier Rakowski's government seek to have its special powers extended by the Sejm toward the end of this year?

Urban: I do not know. The government has not made any moves in this direction.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: According to figures gathered by the opposition, to be more accurate, by the Romaszewski's—a reliable firm— commission, this fall there was an increase in the number of cases of people, detained by members of the Motorized Units of the Citizens Militia, being assaulted. Actually, this also applies to demonstrations and not just to detentions. Has there been some kind of qualitative change in the attitude of this organization's attitude toward society, or have past trends been maintained, and this is solely due to there being more demonstrations this fall?

Urban: First, I do not share your positive opinion of this firm, which has already produced a great many slanderous reports.

Second, it is difficult for me to answer as general a question as this. We have witnessed a certain increase in violence during some demonstrations. When stones are being thrown at the militia and militia vehicles are being wrecked, the militia has to resort to force to restore order in the streets, and that is when people get hurt. I do not have any statistics on this. Besides, no one can or does collect such statistics. Unfortunately, the militia has to use batons to ensure that there is order in the streets from time to time. This particularly applies to some of the marches that start out from outside St Brygida's Church with the marchers carrying stones. Recently, some of them have taken to wearing ski masks.

There are also various misunderstandings. I would like to give you an example. A member of the Bartoszcze family, that is, Mr Roman Bartoszcze's son, said that he was attacked by some strangers who forced him to drink an unusual kind of liquid. In a word, he was suggesting that there had been some kind of terrorist attack in view of the political associations of his surname. Rumors and reports immediately began to be circulated by obliging researchers who study such phenomena to the effect that this was some kind of political provocation. Robert Bartoszcze was hospitalized, given a number of tests, and kept under observation for 2 days. Finally, a psychologist examined him, and Robert Bartoszcze explained that he and some friends had bought some vodka, which they then drank. The whole investigation was pointless—it had even involved blood hounds. He claimed to have lost his shoes and socks while trying to escape. In the end, all this turned to be untrue, because he admitted that he and his friends had been drinking vodka and, being afraid of his parents' reaction, he invented the whole episode.

This shows how these rumors come about. I am not concerned about this one small incident, but about the anatomy of such cases in general. The average teenager who comes home with a guilty conscience often tells a lie, but these lies tend to be apolitical. If someone comes from a family that is known for its political stance, then the young person's imagination might well come up with something about political provocations. There really are quite a few cases of this kind described in the documents that my colleague has with him.

Peter Johnson, GOETEBORG POST: If I have understood things correctly, the bill of associations does not cover the activities of political clubs and parties. In view of this, could you tell us how the government intends to deal with that issue? Are there really plans for a separate law covering clubs and parties?

Urban: Parties and clubs are quite different matters. The issue of clubs will be regulated by law. However, the issue of political parties is regulated by way of the Constitution.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: Mr Minister, I have two questions, the first one is related to my previous question. Does the fact that Poles will be able to keep their passports at home mean that they will be able to cross the border without a green card?

Urban: I cannot answer as technical a question as that. I do not know what this green card is. I would really suggest that you address such detailed questions to the relevant authorities.

Kay Withers: Although this was sometime ago, what I have heard is that two of Father Popieluszko's murders have been released from prison. Could you confirm or deny this?

Urban: I do not have any information about this. I will find out and tell you.

Renate Marsch, DPA: I would like to ask two questions. First, if, as you say, hardly anyone is involved in any assaults, then why is an investigation being conducted in Katowice in connection with accusations that some militia officers committed assaults? Can you perhaps deny this?

Urban: An investigation is underway concerning a Mr Downarowicz, a member of a local people's council Presidium, who charges that he was unjustly (I am sorry, but this was in Poznan) [as published].

Whenever there are any complaints, the matter is investigated. What we know about the business concerning Katowice is that an illegal demonstration took place there and its organizers did not even try to have it officially approved. Our law enforcement agencies have a legal duty to stop illegal demonstrations. This was quite an aggressive or provocative demonstration in view of the slogans that appeared.

There were scuffles among the crowd as a result of mutual accusations of staging a provocation. Actually, three people did receive medical attention, so something did go wrong. Two of the demonstrators were hurt, as well as someone who criticized the demonstrators' behavior.

Renate Marsch: There is another law, the law on foreign capital that is to come into force on 1 January. Does the government have any idea about how many people connected with Polonian firms are in prison at the present time. For example, there is the case of "Polfragrance" (that gentleman has died) and a number of other firms. Are there plans for an amnesty, because the law is going to be changed now?

Urban: We are not talking about criminal law. If someone is in prison, then he is prison for having committed some criminal offence. This has nothing at all to do with improving the situation for foreign capital in Poland, because conditions will never be so good that people will be allowed to commit crimes, for example, to commit bribery or fraud, which are some of the more common offenses committed by people who are involved in private business. Conditions will never be that good. There are no plans for an amnesty. There will be no changes to the regulations that prohibit bribery and fraud.

Piotr Wasilev, Moscow Radio: Mr Minister, what is your current assessment of Polish-Soviet relations? What changes would you like to see, and what do you consider achievements?

Urban: This would call for a report. Generally speaking, we consider Polish-Soviet relations to be very good and even better than ever before, because we have gotten rid of some of the faults that there once were in our relations. We believe that there are many areas in which the quality of these relations could be improved further. I am primarily thinking of the economic conditions for bilateral and multilateral cooperation within CEMA. Poland, like the Soviet Union, is dissatisfied with the entire economic and organizational system for economic cooperation between our countries, which, in our opinion, needs to be radically reformed. We support various draft reforms for this area.

Of course, it is always possible to find ways of developing and improving relations in every area. I could, for example, mention tourism, travel, and exchange programs. This is an area in which formalities should be relaxed to the maximum extent, and our borders should become as open as possible. This is something that are we striving to achieve, although we realize this to be an evolutionary process in view of the fact that prices cannot be compared and that there are problems of a monetary kind, and consumer good supply problems in both countries. These are examples of some of the shortcomings in relations that we would like to improve, but we need time to do so.

Anne Prubaum, THE ECONOMIST: Mr Minister, could you explain why various government statements contradict each other. On the one hand, it is said that the government is interested in creating an increasing number of political and other associations. On the other hand, attempts to register Solidarity are always blocked, which poses obstacles to the commencement of the "roundtable" talks. Can it be hoped that Solidarity will become a legal trade union once the new law on associations is passed?

Urban: No, because the law on associations will regulate the sphere of public life connected with the organization and functioning of associations, whereas the October 1982 law on trade unions regulates the sphere of trade union activity.

One of the executive acts connected with the law, in the form of a State Council resolution, does not permit trade union pluralism in the sense that plants would have more than one trade union operating in them until another State Council resolution is passed.

There are also substantive factors in addition to the formal and legal aspects of this issue. As most of the people assembled here are familiar with our standpoint on this issue, I would suggest that you read the speech that General Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered at the Ursus workers aktiv conference in which the authorities' position on this question was spelled out at length and in very precise terms.

Our position is not in any sense an obstacle to "roundtable" talks, because the "roundtable" talks are based on two principles: First, the talks are to take place without preconditions, and so the registration of a particular organization cannot be a condition for the commencement of the talks, and second, there are no issues that cannot be raised by those taking part in the talks. Thus, the question of trade union pluralism, which is understood in a variety of ways by participants in the "roundtable," can be discussed at the "roundtable," and it is even planned that these issues will be dealt with by a special working party.

Anna Prubaum: Would you register Solidarity as a political club?

Urban: I cannot answer that question. If an application of this kind is filed, it will be examined by the appropriate authorities and they will reply to those concerned.

Alma Kadragic, ABC News: Mr Minister, you said that you do not feel yourself to be responsible for preparing the television debate between Mr Walesa and Mr Miodowicz, which is to take place shortly. You seem to feel that you are no way connected with it. However, on the other hand, as an observer of the Polish political scene and its leading commentator, you certainly have an opinion on a certain fact that I would like to mention here, citing two dates. The first date is 31 August, when ABC (my firm) tried to hold a television interview with Mr Walesa, and the interview was later shown to Polish viewers... .

Urban: Polish viewers?

A. Kaldragic: I am sorry, it was shown in the United States. The request to show it on Polish Television was denied.

The other date is 4 November. During Prime Minister Thatcher's visit to Gdansk, she met Mr Walesa and this was quite an important part of her program, Polish Television did not show anything of the time that the Prime Minister spent with him.

Now, however, tomorrow, to be exact, there is to be a live transmission of Walesa's meeting with Miodowicz, and it is to last at least an hour. This suggests that there has been an important change in someone's beliefs or plans. Could you comment on this?

Urban: I see no reason to comment on this, because, unlike you, I have seen Lech Walesa on Polish Television so often and at various times that I do not consider this appearance to be his premiere. What do I think about these latest plans? I will watch the television program with interest.

You raised some issues that I do not really understand—Why should American television talk to Lech Walesa on Polish Television? It seem to me that the American television companies accredited in Poland spend half their time talking to Mr Walesa, and they have no difficulties in this respect.

I think that on 4 November Polish Television showed Mrs Thatcher laying a wreath at the monument to shipyard workers in the company of Mr Walesa. Perhaps I am mistaken, as I was so busy at the time of the visit that I could not watch everything on television, but I think that was the case. I would like to assure you that Polish Television finds it much more difficult to get access to places where Mr Walesa is than American television.

The fact that Polish Television does not complain loudly does not mean that it does not have any difficulties.

Jerzy Godula, INTERPRESS: Mr Minister, on 9 November the OPZZ presented the government with proposals for a set of measures that are designed to facilitate the resolution of problems experienced by the work forces of plants that are closed down. To what extent have these proposals been examined, and when can we expect consultations and decisions on these issues?

I hope that your reply to this question will not been considered interference in union affairs.

Urban: I do not understand why there should be any friction, because it is obvious that the government is the partner of the trade unions, and it replies to their questions as well as questions from the press about the government position on trade union wishes. I think that the appointment of a special government plenipotentiary for these affairs is a first step that shows that there is desire to meet the demands of trade unions halfway. I cannot say when the appropriate government bodies will respond to all these requests. All I can say is that the government will not consider every one of the requests realistic and possible to fulfill, although it will seek to see to the needs of the work forces of plants that are closed down as best it can.

Deborah Seward, AP: Mr Minister, you talked about the many steps taken by the government, and you yourself described some of them as being small steps, for example, allowing people to take up to $500 out of the country. However, there are also a number of big issues that government has not addressed yet, such as the law on associations and clubs, and the tax law. Not much is

happening in this respect. Following his meeting with Mr Kiszczak, Mr Walesa justly accused the government of failing to make any decisions or take any steps in this direction. I think that he was right. When can one expect the government to make any decisions on these three very fundamental directions of activity?

Urban: Could you please say what the third is, that is, apart from the laws on associations and taxes? (voice in the audience: the law on clubs).

I do not think that there is any law on clubs and any need for one. I cannot recall right now whether the law on associations deals with this issue or whether the freedom to establish clubs is so extensive that there is no need for a law. In any case, there will be no law on clubs. The conditions for establishing clubs will be as good as those for associations.

As far as tax legislation is concerned, a new taxation system is being introduced and this process is not behind schedule in any sense. To put it quite simply, this is a very complicated undertaking. We are not talking about any one law, but about a series of laws that will gradually create a new taxation system.

As for taxes on foreign capital operations in Poland, the general pattern is determined by the law on foreign capital in Poland. According to pessimists, the introduction of a uniform taxation system—one that covers all the other taxes—will take about 3 years. I doubt whether anyone concerned with purely political issues would have such a specialized interest in taxation legislation. You must have made some kind of mistake.

Concerning the law on associations, I said that the draft was being discussed. These consultations are dragging on. I think that there might be some delay. I have already said all I have to say on that subject.

What has this got to do with Mr Walesa? I did not quite understand that point.

Andrew Tarnowski: What month are next year's Sejm elections being planned for, and are there any plans to change the electoral code with respect to Sejm elections?

Urban: According to the Constitution, the elections should take place next fall. Yes, we have announced changes to the electoral code.

If the "roundtable" does produce a Council of National Accord, which is something that we will propose, then one of its tasks will be to discuss the draft of an new electoral code.

Adam Wysocki: I know that the government has a number of other issues on its mind. Nevertheless, in view of the pledge that was expressed at the Sejm session, I would like to know what the government's position is on the SD initiative that, starting next year, 11 November will be a national holiday, which will be celebrated in a dignified way, but without work being disrupted.

Urban: The government has still to discuss this subject. It has not appeared on the agenda yet. However, as far as I know, on the basis of an informal exchange of views, I think that members of the government view the initiative favorably on condition that the holiday, like the 3 May holiday, will not entail a day off work, that is, it will not have any negative economic consequences.

Andrew Tarnowski: Mr Minister, could you just clarify what you said. Is the question of changes to the electoral code dependent on the holding of "roundtable" talks and the establishment of a Council of National Accord, which would discuss the issue?

Urban: No, it is not. However, what is dependent on this is whether the constructive operation [as published, Urban possibly means opposition] does or does not have an influence on the form of this and other laws.

Jonh Daniszewski: You said earlier that the question of political parties is regulated by the Constitution, but the Constitution only mentions three parties. In light of this, do you think the that possible establishment of other political parties would require amendments to the Constitution?

Urban: Yes.

E. Ceausescu, Others Speak at RCP Plenum

Elena Ceausescu Addresses Group

AU0212142288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Nov 88 p 3

["Speech by Comrade Elena Ceausescu," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, at the joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum and other bodies, in Bucharest on 29 November]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: The Central Committee plenum, together with all revolutionary workers democracy bodies, is called upon to examine and adopt appropriate decisions on matters of vital importance for Romania's socioeconomic development and for the unswerving implementation of decisions of the 13th Congress and the national conference of the party, in order to raise our fatherland to new peaks of progress and civilization.

In his speech, the party secretary general made a scientific and materialistic-dialectical analysis of the current situation of Romania's socialist development and defined the directions and prospects of our fatherland's future development, in order to unflinchingly implement the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism.

In the past 40 years of socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, the Romanian people have covered a long road of struggle and work under the leadership of the RCP. They have scored great results in developing the forces of production and, on this basis, science, education, and culture as well, and in continuously raising the people's material and intellectual living standard.

In a short historical period, we have covered several historical stages: from the bourgeois-landlord society to the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. From a poorly developed country, Romania has turned into an industrial-agrarian country in the full swing of socioeconomic progress. A strong development has been registered by our industry, organized on the basis of the latest scientific-technological achievements, which represents the decisive element of socialist construction in our fatherland. We have also developed agriculture—reorganized on socialist bases—which represents the second basic branch of our national economy.

In this period, industrial production has grown more than 120-fold and agricultural production more than 9-fold. Thousands of enterprises were commissioned and new industrial platforms and centers were built.

The deployment of the forces of production throughout the country's counties and areas has ensured conditions for raising the overall level of civilization and ensuring true equality of rights for all our fatherland's citizens. On this basis, we continuously raised the people's material and intellectual living standard, the supreme goal of our Communist Party's policy.

I would like to emphasize the important role of science in the entire socialist organization and development of industry, agriculture, and other fields of activity. Scientific research itself has registered a strong development: We built new research and technological engineering institutes and sectors in all spheres of activity, where almost 270,000 researchers, specialists and other working people are employed.

Scientific research and the activity of modernizing and improving all sectors are present in absolutely all branches.

At the same time, all grades of education have also registered a strong development; illiteracy was eliminated a long time ago, the 10-year education system was generally introduced everywhere, and more than 80 percent of our fatherland's young people are enrolled in the 12-year education system. In higher education, we created new institutes and university centers, raised the overall teaching level, and achieved a close interrelationship with research and production. One can say that the education system in our fatherland ensures the necessary training and number of cadres for all spheres of activity.

At the same time, we have carried out an intensive political, educational, and cultural activity to raise the overall cultural level of the masses of working people and the whole nation. We can affirm, with justified pride, that in the past 40 years of socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, Romania has obtained outstanding achievements, which strongly prove the strength of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the people, who, working in unison, have liquidated oppression, exploitation, and inequality for good and are consciously building their own free future of well-being and happiness.

All these great achievements prove the correctness of the policy of our Communist Party, the leading political force of the whole nations, which has known how to apply and continues to creatively apply the general truths and the scientific-socialist principles to realities prevailing in our fatherland.

As the party secretary general rightly emphasized in his speech, after the Ninth RCP Congress our party has firmly set out from the fact that socialism is being achieved in different conditions from one country to another and from one stage to another, that there is no and there cannot be a "model" of socialist construction, and that each people must build socialism proceeding from the general laws and from the basic principles of scientific socialism.

It is necessary to emphasize our party's constant concern, after the Ninth RCP Congress, strongly developing the revolutionary workers democracy and creating a broad democratic framework in all spheres of activity for the participation of all working people, in their capacity as owners and producers, and of all our people in running the country's affairs.

Proceeding from the scientific thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people, we have created all the necessary conditions for the firm implementation of self-management, self-administration, and an appropriate socioeconomic mechanism, in accordance with the realities and requirements of a modern economy. The harmonious blending and the increase in the responsibility of all socioeconomic units for the good administration and fulfillment of their own economic development plans with the single plan for socioeconomic development and for uniform management of the entire activity is a decisive element of the smooth development of our entire activity.

I would also like to point out the correctness of our party's over policy of strongly developing the state and cooperative socialist property and firmly applying the socialist principles of remuneration and material incentives, on the basis of socialist principles. One can justifiably say that nobody in our society can live without work or derive incomes from the exploitation of the work of others!

In acting to continuously perfect our society, we must do all we c to further increase the spirit of responsibility and strengthen order and discipline in all sectors.

At the same time, all state organs and all revolutionary workers democracy bodies must carry our their activity, in close unity, under the constant leadership of the RCP, and in close connection with the broad masses and the people, who are the true makers of history and the true builders of Romania's present and socialist and communist future!

Esteemed comrades: When discussing the problems of socialist construction in our country, we should draw all necessary lessons both from the experience which has ensured our fatherland's great achievements in socialist construction and from various shortcomings and mistakes at certain points in time, with a view to taking firm steps to improve our entire activity and unflinchingly attain the strategic targets set by the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the Party for Romania's transition to a higher development stage, for an intensive overall development, and for a new quality of life and work in all spheres of activity.

The agenda of the joint session of the Central Committee plenum an other democratic bodies includes the socioeconomic development plans for 1989, the fourth year of the current 5-year plan—a decisive year for the commendable fulfillment of the entire 5-year plan.

Almost 3 years have elapsed since the Eighth 5-year Plan. General speaking, we have scored good results in all sectors, although they are below the provisions of the 5-year plan. We should take all steps to conclude this year with ever better results, thus laying a lasting foundation for next year's plan.

In this framework, I would like to stress the important role of scientific research and the National Committee for Science and Technology in unflinchingly implementing the programs for the scientific organization and modernization of the entire activity. Important results were scored in this field, as well; however, we must openly admit that not everything possible has been done and that the research institutes failed to vigorously act to implement all provisions of the programs for the organization and modernization of production and the entire activity.

In this respect, a number of shortcomings were also apparent in the activity of the National Committee for Science and Technology. It is necessary to seriously examine, in a spirit of great responsibility, the work done in the first years of the current 5-year plan and to establish appropriate measures to improve the activity of research and design and to organize and modernize the entire activity on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology.

In view of the overall level of Romanian industry, we must resolutely focus the efforts of research on improving and modernizing technology, in order to increase the technological and qualitative level of products and reduce material and energy consumption.

It is necessary to rapidly introduce new technologies and research results in the production process and to manufacture better quality products, in order to fully meet the requirements of the national economy and of exports.

In research activity, we must also aim at working out new technologies and producing new and better materials for all economic sectors. Achievements so far show that we have the necessary scientific capability to solve any problem of the new scientific-technical revolution. At the same time, we must expand scientific-technological cooperation with CEMA socialist member countries, on the basis of the long-term research program, and with all other socialist countries.

At the same time, we should expand cooperation in research with other countries, in order to further increase, through joint efforts, the contribution of science to the entire socioeconomic development. We must proceed in such a way as to ensure that, in the coming 2 years, Romanian science will solve the complicated problems of the current 5-year plan and will proceed to researching new important problems regarding our fatherland's entire development in the coming decade, until the year 2000, and in the first decades of the 21st century. We must properly master the requirements

included in the April Theses, namely that the fulfillment of our strategic goals, the implementation of the party program, and the creation of conditions for a transition toward communism can only be achieved on the basis of the latest achievements of science, technology, the agrarian revolution, and overall human knowledge.

Let us ensure that scientific research in all spheres, in close unity with education and production, will become an important factor of promoting our fatherland's development and raising it to new peaks of progress and civilization!

Particular attention should be paid to training and improving cadres for all sectors and raising the professional, scientific, and technical level of all working people. To this end, it is necessary to improve all grades of education, particularly higher education, proceedings from the latest achievements of science, technology, and human knowledge. We must arm our young generation, students, and future experts with the latest achievements in all fields and with a thorough theoretical and practical knowledge, so that they can better adjust to conditions in production and other sectors of activity.

Only with people with highly specialized training in all fields will we be able to implement our great targets in all spheres, raise the qualitative and technological level of products, increase labor productivity, improve and modernize production, and increase economic efficiency and profitability. Likewise, we should improve the political-education activity of raising the level of culture and revolutionary awareness of the entire young generation, of all our fatherland's experts.

All school and higher education graduates must have thorough professional, scientific, and technical training as well as a good political-ideological education in order to better understand the complex problems of socioeconomic development and the great changes occurring in the world and also to always act as true revolutionaries.

I would like to point out the need to intensify the political, educational, and cultural work and further improve the activity of the "Song to Romania" national festival, in order to raise the cultural and training level of all working people, primarily of the young people, and to shape the new man with a high revolutionary awareness, a conscious builder of the new social system.

It is necessary to always bear in mind that the bright prospects for our fatherland's development can only be achieved with highly trained people in all spheres.

Let us raise our people's general level of culture and science! Let us make sure that our people are working in close accordance with the requirements of the new scientific-technological achievements, of the scientific-technical revolution, and of human knowledge; let us ensure that our people will always act as a people with a high scientific and cultural level. Only thus will our nation be able to secure a dignified and free future for itself and will continue to march forward toward the highest peaks of communist civilization!

Proceeding from the need to increase the party's leading role in all spheres and to improve the activity of party bodies and organizations, we will have to ensure that the party organizations active in the sphere of research, education, and culture will improve and perfect their activity in order to better fulfill their role as a leading political force in ensuring the smooth development of research, instruction, and the cultural-educational activity.

At the same time, we should improve the managing activity of the democratic bodies in research and education, of students' organizations, of the Union of Communist Youth, and of the Pioneers Organization, so that all forces in these sectors, like in all other fields of activity, can act in close unity to unswervingly fulfill the party program, further develop the material and intellectual capacity of our fatherland, and strengthen Romania's sovereignty and independence.

Esteemed comrades: I would like to express full endorsement for our party-state foreign policy of developing relations of cooperation with all socialist countries, with the developing countries, and with the developed capitalist states, as an inseparable part of Romania's general policy of socialist construction.

Life has shown the correctness of our country's international policy of firmly promoting, in the relations with all states, the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage. As the party secretary general stressed in his speech, our country has made an active contribution to the solution of many international problems, particularly to the policy of disarmament, peace, and cooperation with all states in the world.

The scientists and intellectuals of our fatherland, like all the people, actively support the entire international policy of our party and state and resolutely speak out for intensifying cooperation with all realistic and anti-imperialist forces and with all nations in the struggle for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, for the total elimination of nuclear weapons, and for a stop to all nuclear tests and other efforts to militarize outer space. Likewise, resolute steps should be taken to reduce classical arms, eliminate chemical weapons, and cut back on military expenditures.

Our scientists are determined to develop cooperation with their counterparts throughout the world in order to fulfill these vital strivings of all of mankind.

We are deeply worried over the fact that, after the signing of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, several NATO states have intensified their efforts to maintain, modernize, and develop short-range nuclear missiles.

While there is much talk about the need to intensify East-West relations, voices are heard claiming that this should be achieved from a position of strength, by maintaining the so-called nuclear deterrent; actually, this amounts to a policy that runs counter to the interests of detente and cooperation. It seems that not all states have drawn the necessary lessons from the Chernobyl nuclear accident, which showed that nuclear weapons and the unchecked release of nuclear energy in general can seriously jeopardize the existence of life itself on our planet.

Although there are people who advocate a new way of thinking and a new international policy, many leading circles from the NATO countries are actually operating from the position of the old way of thinking, namely from a position of force and diktat. Therefore, all Romanian scientists and intellectuals, with the whole nation, believe that all scientists and intellectuals, who are well aware of the nuclear danger, and all nations should intensify their efforts to make all states and leading political circles renounce the old nuclear policy and the old policy of armaments and take resolute steps to establish a new policy of disarmament and peace.

This is in accordance with the interest of peoples in Europe and throughout the world!

It is necessary to support the efforts aimed at solving all conflicts through negotiations alone and expanding cooperation and solidarity among the developing countries, in order to find a global solution to the problems of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order.

Our people are determined to actively cooperate with all nations to resolve the great and complicated problems of world life in a new way, which can facilitate the socioeconomic development of each nation. In this respect, it is very important to strengthen cooperation among communist and workers parties as well as the cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties, with other democratic parties and forces, and with all those advocating disarmament, peace, and a better and more just world on our planet.

Esteemed comrades: On behalf of our scientists, teachers, and men of culture, I would like to again express full endorsement for the theses and orientations included in the party secretary general's speech concerning the future development of our fatherland; these theses and guidelines offer wonderful prospects for developing the forces of production, science, education, and culture and for raising the people's material and intellectual living standard and the fatherland's level of civilization.

I fully endorse the provisions of the plan and other documents for socioeconomic development in 1989 and I express the determination of all researchers and teaching staff to act in a spirit of full responsibility to implement the highly important tasks incumbent upon them in all spheres of activity.

The scientists and teachers, like all working people, are pledging to do all they can to increase the contribution of science and education to the fulfillment of our strategic goals, so as to also make a contribution to ensuring the fatherland's comprehensive progress, developing the country's material and intellectual strength, raising the whole people's well-being, and strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty.

Our meeting takes place on the eve of the 70th anniversary of Transylvania's union with the rest of the country and the formation of the united Romanian national state. Let us honor this glorious anniversary with the firm commitment to do all we can to further raise Romania to new peaks of progress and civilization, ensure a free, independent, and happy future for all our people, and guarantee the victory of socialism and communism in Romania!

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Dascalescu Delivers Address

AU0212141088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Nov 88 p 2

["Speech by Comrade Constantin Dascalescu," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, at the joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum and other bodies, in Bucharest on 29 November]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, esteemed comrades: Our party and people are today experiencing a noteworthy political event of far-reaching historic significance generated by the masterly speech given at the joint session of the Central Committee plenum and workers revolutionary democracy bodies by the party secretary general, Romania's great hero, who is dedicating his whole life to achieving our people's aspirations and ideals, our party's and state's brilliant leader, and prominent figure of today's political world, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

The homage we are paying on this occasion, together with the whole country, to the greatest son of our homeland is an expression of the boundless gratitude we owe this Communist and exceptional man who, excellently representing the great virtues of the Romanian people, has made—through everything he has done and continues to do for more than 55 years—a decisive contribution to the successful implementation of the historic work of socialist construction in Romania.

Now, when with complete satisfaction and legitimate patriotic pride, our whole nation is celebrating the 70th anniversary of the great unification of 1918, one of the greatest works wrought by our people in their troubled existence, Romania is experiencing an unprecedented magnificence due to the great achievements of the socialist era that bears the mark of the brilliant founder of our new country, thus entering his glorious name in the front pages of our national history.

Together with the entire party and all people, we are greatly impressed with his masterly speech of great scientific, theoretical, and practical value, which, with clearsightedness and revolutionary boldness, examines the current stage of our society and forecasts the strategic directions and goals of our future development, thus becoming a thesis of exceptional significance for the coming 14th RCP Congress.

It goes without saying that the noteworthy successes achieved on the road embarked on by the Ninth RCP Congress, which initiated a new stage in the construction of socialism in Romania, are directly linked with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's prodigious activity and with his decisive role in rethinking—by applying the general truths of scientific socialism to our country's specific conditions—the whole process of building the new society and, within this framework, defining the position and role of the party in society on the basis of an original concept.

Proud of our great achievements, which have radically changed our country's image, we pay homage and express esteem and gratitude to our clearsighted leader, who has been designated by history to take the Romanian people's destiny to the heights of socialism and communism. We pay homage to the fearless militant for building the most just and humane system on our homeland's soil, to him who in a short time has succeeded—with the people and for the people—in bringing magnificence and dignity to our country, greatness and glory to the party, and we pay homage to the front-ranking figure of the international communist and workers movement, the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Esteemed comrades: It is my high duty of honor to fully endorse the ideas and theses in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's masterly speech, a document of exceptional significance, which, through its original, renewing, and scientifically corroborated concepts, ensures an even larger mobilization of the creative efforts of all our people to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference, and which defines our country's future development goals up to 1995 and beyond up to the year 2000.

Within this framework, the provisions of the Uniform National Plan for Socioeconomic Development in 1989, worked out under the direct guidance of and with

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive contribution, are based on the results achieved by all our people in the first 3 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

I want to emphasize that we are strongly mobilized to conclude this year's plan with the best of results by working in all areas to increase the itemized production, and especially production earmarked for export.

Proceeding from these achievements and from the vigorous production potential in our economy, the draft plan ensures—under conditions of a material, financial, and foreign currency balance—a dynamic increase in the material production, the national revenue, and an improvement, on this basis, in the well-being of the working people.

The whole structure of the plan for next year is based on accelerating the intensive development of industry, agriculture, and the other branches of the national economy, on best capitalizing on material resources and manpower, improving the technical and qualitative level of products, and on widely applying the achievements of science and technology throughout our economy.

The 1989 plan stipulates the further expansion of our own mineral, energy, and raw material base along with promoting decisive efforts to better save and capitalize on all resources.

To properly implement these provisions, the government has to work with greater determination to ensure the complete implementation of the provisions of endorsed programs, a commendable fulfillment of the itemized production envisaged for coal mining, crude oil and natural gas extraction, and for the other useful mineral substances, a strengthened order and discipline, and an increased sense of responsibility and involvement in these sectors of activity.

We will strive to a greater extent to eliminate current shortfalls in the energy sector, ensure the proper application of measures to ensure the operation at maximum capacity of power plants, and speed up the putting into operation of new energy projects, so that by 1990 we will generally solve our problems in the energy sector.

At the same time, we will place special stress on expanding the utilization of nonconventional sources of energy such as solar, geothermal, wind energy, biomass, and biogas, and we will place stress on building microhydropower plants in absolutely all areas with efficient conditions for such constructions.

Important tasks are envisaged for next year for all branches of the processing industry. Priority must be given to further modernizing production structures, intensively utilizing the whole productive potential, and developing top technologies—advanced metallurgical, electronics, and microelectronics products, precision mechanics, hydropneumatic equiment, and fine synthesis and small-tonnage chemistry.

The commendable fulfillment of tasks in industry requires more determined work to apply the measures for the proper operation of machines, equipment, and installations, the strict observance of repair and review programs, and the achievement and operation of planned parameters on schedule.

As the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, recommended, we will constantly focus on implementing the measures included in the programs for intensive development, perfecting and modernizing manufacturing processes, introducing technical progress, constantly applying the results of scientific research, expanding mechanization, automation, and robotics, and introducing new materials and technologies characterized by reduced consumption.

To eliminate shortfalls in product quality, we will work with greater determination to improve the technical level of products, so that the question of quality becomes the main concern of all industrial activities and of the other branches of the economy by paying special attention to strictly observing the planned norms and technologies, strengthening order and discipline in the production process, and increasing the responsibility of all workers.

The draft plan stipulates tasks of great importance for the intensive development and modernization of agriculture and for implementing the targets of the new agrarian revolution in order to ensure large, secure, and stable agricultural production.

We will ensure the necessary conditions for prudently managing land, completely implementing the irrigation and land improvement program, cultivating lands according to plan provisions, concentrating manpower in order to complete all agricultural operations in time and with good quality, to ensure the planned fodder base, increase our livestock, and modernize animal breeding farms and units.

The program of investments, which completely meets the requirements of our economy, is formulated in such a way as to continue to ensure a high rate of accumulation. The plan provisions are based on the achievement of maximum outputs in accordance with investments and material expenditure, and on the strict observance of planned norms in order to ensure a vigorous development of industry, agriculture, and of the other branches and areas of activity and, on this basis, to strengthen and develop socialist ownership.

The investment funds are primarily channeled in the direction of speedily completing investment projects under construction, modernizing installations and technologies, ensuring capital repairs, and carrying out

projects that will contribute to the development of the raw material and energy base, and to increased efficiency in all branches of the economy.

Special tasks also rest with transportation and telecommunications. The government has to work so that this important branch of the economy will also fulfill the high indicators of utilizing the whole material-technical base, especially in railroad, sea, and river transportation, reduce consumption to a greater extent, improve the transportation flow, and strengthen order and discipline.

The 1989 uniform National Plan will ensure the active participation of our country in the international division of labor, create conditions to achieve a surplus balance of trade, and consolidate our country's foreign currency reserves by increasing the efficiency of exports on the basis of making better use of material resources and of manpower.

The commendable fulfillment of the tasks in the area of foreign trade compels us to work more energetically to improve our activities and eliminate shortfalls in this field, expand and diversify cooperation and specialization, secure more effective contracts for all goods stipulated in the plan, increase the share of products with a high processing degree in our country's export, and properly manage our foreign currency resources earmarked for imports.

Esteemed comrades: The complete implementation of the provisions on increasing efficiency and profitability of all socioeconomic activities requires the application of the measures and technical, organizational, and economic solutions established to more rapidly increase labor productivity and substantially reduce production costs, especially material expenditure, to better utilize raw and other materials, fuels, and electrical power, and to continue to increase the efficiency of productive fixed assets, and it requires a strict observance of economic-financial norms.

The government will intensively strive to ensure the appropriate functioning of the economic-financial mechanism based on the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing through the firm application, throughout the economy, of the provisions of the state budget and of the centralized financial plan.

We will take energetic measures to strictly respect the law on setting production costs, strengthening financial control in all areas, strictly observing the planned volume of circulating capital, and eliminating shortfalls in the activity of the financial-banking and price-setting bodies.

In light of your recommendations, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Government pledges to intensify its concerns with applying all measures ensuring the smooth fulfillment of the 1989 plan beginning with the first day of the year.

For this purpose, we will firmly work to increase the responsibility in the proper management of all activities and funds in order to effectively solve all problems raised by the fulfillment of all plan indicators.

We pledge to give pride of place to perfecting the activity of the Council of Ministers, of managerial councils of ministries, and of other central bodies, to further improving the style and methods of work, introducing perfect order and discipline, and to exercising strict control in order to ensure the commendable fulfillment of plan tasks and the observance of our country's laws.

The government will instill a more dynamic and exacting spirit into all organizational levels in the economy and will work to improve the activity of planning, supply, financial, and banking bodies in order to constantly perfect relations between ministries, central departments, and enterprises, so that the whole economic and social activity will take place in such a way as to meet the requirements of our country's current stage of development and the requirements formulated by you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in your excellent speech at this plenum.

Esteemed comrades: As the party secretary general has emphasized, all socioeconomic development plans and programs, which the party has set for our nation, can be implemented solely under conditions of peace, security, and cooperation among peoples.

This is why we are proud of and endorse, with all our conviction, the extensive and prodigious international activity of our remarkable leader consistently aimed at strengthening friendship and cooperation with all nations and with the progressive forces throughout the world and at achieving disarmament, solving all controversial problems by peaceful means and negotiations, and ensuring a favorable atmosphere for detente, the free and independent affirmation and development of all peoples, and peace and progress for the whole of mankind.

Socialist Romania and the RCP have won great and well-deserved prestige throughout the world and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has entered the awareness of progressive forces everywhere as a tireless promoter of the ideals of justice, freedom, and the independence of all people, as a consistent fighter for the progress and prosperity of all world nations, for the cause of socialism and communism, and as a great hero of peace.

Esteemed comrades: In conclusion, please permit me to express complete adherence to the plenum documents in the firm belief that, under the party and your leadership, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we will achieve new and noteworthy results next year, too, to ensure the greatness and magnificence of our socialist homeland.

I am fully convinced that the party and all our people are strongly mobilized to commendably implement the comprehensive program for our country's socioeconomic development, which has been initiated with clearsightedness and and patriotic devotion by the ingenious founder of modern socialist Romania, the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Emil Bobu Speaks at Session

AU0412165188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Nov 88 p 5

[Report on "Speech by Comrade Emil Bobu," member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, at the joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum and other workers democracy bodies, in Bucharest on 29 November]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrades Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades,

The joint meeting of the RCP Central Committee plenum and other bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy, whose agenda includes an analysis of the current stage and future development prospects of the Romanian socialist society, is a very important event which will go down in the chronicle of our party and state as a historic moment of great significance.

Listening very carefully to party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant speech, I experienced, like all participants, sentiments of high gratitude and patriotic ardor. The profound clearsightedness which permeates this programmatic document worked out by the party secretary general as well as the theses of national and universal importance that it propagates, give this document an eternal historic value.

Once more—like in all stages of our socialist revolution and construction when the fatherland's socioeconomic development strategy was worked out with the help of the party secretary general's decisive contribution—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has made a contribution of priceless theoretical and practical value to the creative development of scientific socialism, by enriching the heritage of universal knowledge with his monumental work of a brilliant revolutionary thinker.

Through a happy coincidence, the current plenum takes place on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the creation of the united Romanian national state. As emphasized in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's exceptional speech, this great and most important event was the natural outcome of the Romanian people's long historical development and struggle for freedom, justice, independence, and national unity. With the realization of this dream, for which so many generations of our forefathers have fought and given their lives, new conditions were created for the development of our nation and of its socioeconomic life.

Looking back on our fatherland's historical development, we must proudly emphasize, from this high rostrum, too, that one period stands out clearly in its brightness, namely the period inaugurated by the historic Ninth RCP Congress, an epoch-making event in the life of our party and country, when—through the unanimous will of the Communists and all our people—the nation's destiny was entrusted to the brilliant politician, revolutionary militant, and bravest leader in our entire millennia-old existence, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

We thus had the great historical chance of introducing—at a decisive moment in our existence and thanks to the outstanding contribution of the illustrious leader of our party and state—an innovating spirit and a new kind of revolutionary fervor, thinking and action in all fields of activity. Likewise, we waged a resolute struggle against all that was old and retrograde, against routine and conservative attitudes, and against all trends of stagnation, complacency, and kowtowing to foreign influences, while, at the same time, giving back to our nation the true feeling of liberty and human dignity and of pride in the glorious past of struggle of the Romanian party and people.

All this has made a decisive contribution to unleashing the creative energy and untapped reserves of the whole Romanian nation, which has led to a profoundly creative activity and effervescence.

The great revolutionary changes and outstanding achievements in promoting the country's socioeconomic development and in raising the people's material and intellectual living standard clearly show that, since the historic Ninth RCP Congress, in a short historical period, our country has covered several development stages.

Enjoying the benefit of the party secretary general's clear guidelines, we have built a strong industry capable of manufacturing, at a high qualitative level, almost everything that is produced today in this sector in the world. Likewise, we have continuously developed and modernized the technical-material basis of agriculture; as a result of the implementation of the concept of the new agrarian revolution, agricultural yields have increased substantially, thus ensuring the necessary supplies of raw materials for industry and proper supplies to the population.

In the light of the policies and theses worked out by the party secretary general regarding the role of science in building the comprehensively developed socialist society, our science has left an unprecedented mark on our

socioeconomic life, in accordance with the requirements of the ongoing revolutionary process, and has become an ever more important force of our material production.

On this occasion, we would like to emphasize once more, with great respect, the decisive role played by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, front-ranking militant of our party and state and prominent personality of the world scientific life, in asserting and developing the Romanian science, education, and culture and in implementing all plans and programs for the fatherland's socioeconomic development.

We are very happy that, stimulated by party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's ideas and guidelines, we began some 20 years ago to improve economic organization and management; introduce a new economic mechanism based on the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing; create the working people's councils as bodies of the revolutionary workers democracy; and institutionalize the working people's general meetings. We worked out special and priority programs which ensured the uniform and harmonious development of all national economic branches, both nationwide and at the level of each county. All this is a telling proof of our highly humanist policy aimed at ensuring equal rights for all citizens in our fatherland.

The great and profound revolutionary transformations that have radically changed the face of our country contributed to Romania's joining the ranks of countries with a dynamic economic development and a high level of culture and civilization. That is why our people have named the glorious period since the Ninth RCP Congress "The Nicolae Ceausescu Era," as a token of profound homage and vivid gratitude that will bear witness for centuries on end.

Fulfilling my duty of honor as member of our glorious Communist Party, I—like all Communists and our whole nation—would like to pay ardent homage to our party secretary general for his impressive revolutionary activity at the head of our party and country, an activity permeated by the noblest patriotic feelings. I am paying homage to the eminent politician and statesman, who has brilliantly inaugurated the most fertile era in the Romanian people's millennia-old existence, to the visionary, erudite thinker, and great hero of our nation, and to the prominent personality of the international communist and workers movement, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Esteemed comrades: Our great achievements of the past 23 years, which are unparalleled in the entire millennia-old existence of the Romanian people, would not have been possible without a strong party of the workers class, which has assumed the mission of guiding the people along the road of building the most just and human system in mankind's history. It is your everlasting merit, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to have given back to our party its revolutionary spirit, dignity, and awareness as leading political force in the entire society. Your have worked out the stage-by-stage strategy of our fatherland's socioeconomic development, on the basis of a profound knowledge of Romanian realities, and have instilled a dynamic and profoundly innovating course into the entire socialist construction in our country.

It is thanks to you, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that we have an all-encompassing concept regarding the party's role in society and its ever stronger assertion as vital center of the nation. In the framework of the broad system of our revolutionary workers democracy, the party is efficiently exercising its leading political role in all spheres of the social life, from the material goods production to the ideological-educational activity, thus ensuring its own political-organizational unity as well as the unflinching implementation, by the Communists and all party bodies and organizations, of the overall policies, the party's decisions, and the country's laws.

Brilliantly summing up the huge political experience acquired by the RCP in the years of socialist construction, particularly in the period inaugurated by the historic Ninth RCP Congress, and the new requirements of the ongoing revolutionary process, which is becoming increasingly broad and more comprehensive, the party secretary general's brilliant speech strongly emphasizes the great theoretical and practical significance of the truth according to which any lessening of the party's leading role or its refraining from direct participation in the elaboration and fulfillment of the plans and programs for the country's socioeconomic development and in the implementation of the domestic and foreign policy are but a very damaging and liquidationist concept, which, sooner of later, will lead to the party's weakening, with serious consequences for the successful construction of socialism. The thesis about the need to strengthen the party's leading political role—so clearly formulated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—acquires a particular value for the entire international communist and workers movement, in the overall revolutionary process of transition to socialist construction and in the efforts to successfully build the most just and humane society.

With justified patriotic pride and deep gratitude, we can say that our party, headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, outstanding leader, brilliant communist militant, and consistent revolutionary, was spared mistakes and confused orientations; it has strengthened continuously and has become stronger and more vigorous, thus honorably fulfilling its high historical mission of leading the Romanian people toward the peaks of socialist and communist civilization.

Esteemed comrades: We can really be proud of our great achievements in all spheres of socialist construction.

However, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu rightly said, these achievements would have been much higher if we had worked with greater responsibility in all fields of activity and if all party bodies and organizations had commendably fulfilled their leading political role.

The fact that there are lags in the fulfillment of the itemized production, particularly in the spheres of oil, coal, electric power, exports, and investments, that consumption norms for raw and other materials were exceeded, that measures stipulated by our special and priority programs were not fulfilled exactly, and that there are serious shortcomings in the proper fulfillment of agricultural tasks and in the thorough organization of activities in other sectors is also due to a lack of firm action on the part of some county, municipal, town, and communal committees with special duties at a regional level, which failed to work, in a spirit of high collective and personal responsibility, to properly organize activities and to mobilize and pool all available forces, hence the existence of some very serious problems in their working style and methods.

We have very good programs and organizational structures, which have proved their validity for many years. That is why, as has already been mentioned here, the question does not arise that one should modify our system of organizing and managing the national economy. The still existing shortcomings should be mainly sought in the way in which steps are being taken to implement all decisions and targets in an exemplary manner and in the way of thinking and the responsible manner in which our party-state cadres are approaching their tasks in various spheres of socioeconomic activity.

Not sufficiently responsible steps are being taken everywhere to uphold the revolutionary spirit, to shape public opinion against all acts of indiscipline and carelessness, and to combat complacency trends or any attempts to justify shortcomings.

At this plenum, I must self-critically admit that we, those active in the organizational sphere, cannot be satisfied with the results of our work, as we did not take consistent and firm steps to strictly observe the party statute provisions and all other decisions and to introduce a climate of high order, exactingness, and discipline in all party bodies and organizations.

Proceeding from the priceless theses, recommendations, and guidelines of our party secretary general, we are firmly determined to work with ardor and devotion in order to: ensure that all county party committees competently fulfill their role and tasks at a regional level; strengthen the internal party life, improve work with the party aktiv; increase collective and personal responsibility in the fulfillment of tasks; intensify control over the activity of party bodies and organizations; and guide them better and more competently in order to further enhance their leading role.

We should primarily and constantly concern ourselves with increasing the responsibility of party cadres, of Communists activs in state, mass, and public bodies, in people's councils, and in other bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy in order to fulfill their tasks in an exemplary manner, strictly implement the party's decisions and the country's laws, and introduce everywhere a spirit of high revolutionary exactingness, order, and combativeness.

We will take more consistent steps to promote to responsible positions only those Communists who show real organizational qualities and skills in the management work, who have a thorough political-ideological training, and who enjoy authority and prestige among the masses of working people.

Drawing all necessary conclusions and lessons from shortcomings and deficiencies in the organizational, political, and educational work, we will take firm steps to ensure that the main focus of this activity will be the communist cadres and all our working people, in order to mobilize the creative energy of the whole nation in unflinchingly fulfilling the fatherland's socioeconomic development plans and strongly asserting the party's leading role in all fields.

Esteemed comrades: We must point out with legitimate patriotic pride and justified satisfaction that our Communist Party and the SR of Romania enjoy a tremendous prestige in the international life, for their priceless contribution to solving the great and complicated problems of the contemporary word and establishing a climate of peace, cooperation, and friendship among all nations.

For all this, we have to thank our illustrious leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who has worked and continues to work with outstanding clearsightedness and brilliance and with revolutionary consistency for promoting a new way of thinking in the international life, for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the communist and workers movement, for peacefully resolving all contentious problems, and for observing each people's legitimate rights to choose their development road in accordance with their wishes, something which has brought our leader international recognition as a most prominent personality and a great hero of world peace.

In conclusion the speaker said: We assure the plenum and yourself personally, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that—by unflinchingly following the example of the heroic work you are doing, with high revolutionary devotion and ardor, at the head of our party and state for the continuous development of Socialist Romania—we will do all we can to further increase the party's leading role and unite the efforts of all our people to fulfill the current 5-year plan tasks in an exemplary manner, thus welcoming the 14th RCP Congress and the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and

anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation with new and important successes in raising our beloved fatherland, the SR of Romania, to higher peaks of progress and civilization.

Miu Dobrescu Gives Talk

AU0312175888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Nov 88 p 4

[Report on "Speech by Comrade Miu Dobrescu," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, at the joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum and other workers democracy bodies, in Bucharest on 29 November]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrades Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades:

This great democratic forum—gloriously haloed by Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's monumental speech, which brilliantly joins and completes the historic April Theses—will occupy an honorable place among the memorable events in the life of the party and country.

Through the documents discussed today, our revolutionary process—vigorously and intensively revitalized by the Ninth RCP Congress—will acquire new and bright features and dimensions for all facets and fields of our social activity.

A huge enrichment to the theoretical and ideological heritage of our party and to the patrimony of the national and international revolutionary thinking and practice, this brilliant document presented to us, present at this meeting, and to the whole party and nation, reiterates the great dialectical, political, and strategic virtues of our brilliant leader and his unique ability to sum up, in an integrating vision, the numerous complex phenomena and the ways and means for the future development of our socialist society and of the contemporary society in general. We can only restate a great truth, namely that the process opened by the Ninth RCP Congress, which has dynamized the nation's capacity for work and creation in an unparalleled way so far, and the great achievements obtained in his unique period of our country's history are indisolubly linked with the personality of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, great hero among the heroes of this Romanian nation and land. The lively and constantly fresh and youthful spirit of the way of thinking and action of the founder of modern Socialist Romania is once more strongly reflected in this new package of principled guidelines and practical measures aimed at improving the management and planning of our socioeconomic activity, at strengthening the democratic aspect of the management process, at developing the awareness of the masses, and at ensuring a broadest possible and most profound involvement of all working people in the entire socialist construction in the country. Therefore, it is only natural—and I fully endorse this from the bottom of my heart—that the impressive speech made by our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, should become a program of work and struggle for our entire party and nation, a program that will be at the basis of the entire activity to prepare the 14th RCP Congress.

The documents discussed these days emphasize clearly and strongly the dynamism of the Romanian science, research, and technology, fields that are guided with exceptional competence by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, eminent personality of our party-state leadership and brilliant scholar of high international renown, whom we also pay our great homage.

In the light of the party secretary general's theses, orientations, and recommendations and thanks to his constant, generous, and exacting guidance, all trade union bodies and organizations, beginning with the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions [GURTU], have undergone in this period a vast and profound process of critical analysis and reevaluation and of improvement of their working ways and methods, in accordance with the new requirements set by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu; this process was continued and even expanded during accountability and electoral meetings and conferences held by the trade union bodies in enterprises, institutes, and all spheres of activity.

We report to the plenum that, by stimulating the working people's savings spirit and the struggle against all forms of waste, in the first nine months of this year the trade unions contributed to saving—within the framework of the "Savings Account of the Trade Union Group" initiative—important quantities of raw, energy, fuel, and other materials worth more than 10 billion lei. "Quality Circles" comprise today more than 450,000 members, who are making a worthy contribution to improving the technical-qualitative level of products. Within the framework of the ongoing mass activity of technological-scientific creations, in which the trade unions are taking an active part, more than 74,000 problems were solved in the first half of this year, with an economic efficiency amounting to some 6 billion lei.

Then the speaker said: Expressing full endorsement for and approval of the documents discussed by the plenum and for the draft 1989 plan and budget—documents which were elaborated with the decisive contribution of Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and which are designed to ensure the further intensive development of the national economy and the greater well-being of the whole nation—we are determined to act with our entire political and organizational capability, under the leadership of party bodies and organizations, to better fulfill the plan for this year and prepare the ground for the fulfillment of the 1989 plan.

Guided by the axiom-like assessment of our party secretary general, namely that democracy does not mean anarchy and that socialism can only be built in accordance with the law, we will focus our entire political-educational activity on firmly enhancing order and discipline and increasing the responsibility of the working people, in their capacity as owners, producers, and end-users of the national wealth. We will act, as requested by our great leader, to ensure that each plant and factory becomes a strong citadel of high quality production and high technological level as well as a citadel of shaping the revolutionary awareness of the people.

To the sentiments of highest gratitude of the millions of working people which we extend to Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on this occasion, too, we would like to add the solemn pledge to do our best and obtain concrete results in the entire activity for the fatherland's socioeconomic development.

Expressing the feelings of pride and gratitude of the millions of trade union members for the exemplary activity devoted to peace and understanding among peoples and for the highly humanistic initiatives of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—illustrious personality of the contemporary world and brilliant hero of peace—we assure this great forum and the party secretary general that GURTU will act in its international relations to firmly promote the noble ideas of our party-state foreign policy.

In conclusion the speaker said: We assure the party leadership and the great and beloved son of the nation, Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that the trade unions which are faithfully serving the party's supreme cause—namely the people's well-being and happiness and the fatherland's dignity and sovereignty—will honor with exemplary deeds of work the 45th anniversary of the historic act of 23 August 1944 and the 14th RCP Congress, which will open up new and bright prospects for the communist construction in our fatherland.

Irimie Catargiu Appointed Minister of Mines

AU2411101488 Bucharest AGERPRES in Romanian 0920 GMT 24 Nov 88

[From the Press Review]

[Text] The dailies announce that Irimie Catargiu was appointed minister of mining under presidential decree.

Dascalescu, Dinca Meet Hungarian Minister Berecz

AU1811180088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1741 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/11/988—On 18 November, Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu received Frigyes Berecz, Hungarian minister of industry, head of his country's delegation at the 21st session of the Romanian-Hungarian Joint Governmental Commission on Economic, Technological and Scientific Collaboration, held in Bucharest.

During the interview the sides looked into new ways to provide further amplification to the Romanian-Hungarian economic and technological collaboration in various domains of mutual interest, to expand and diversify the commercial exchanges.

Participating in the call was First Deputy Prime Minister Ion Dinca, head of the Romanian delegation in the commission.

Human Rights Activists Deported to GDR

AU0512143888 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEIMEINE in German 5 Dec 88 p 1

["F.A.Z." report: "Delegation of International Society for Human Rights Expelled From Bucharest"]

[Text] A delegation of four members of the International Society for Human Rights (IGFM), which arrived in Bucharest on Saturday [3 December], had to leave Romania immediately. It was flown to the GDR in an aircraft of the East Berlin airline "Interflug." This was reported by the IGFM on Sunday [4 December]. The delegation had gone to Bucharest to submit documents on more than 2,000 cases of separated families to Romanian state and party leader Ceausescu's wife Elena. They arrived in Bucharest with valid visas. On Saturday morning, three members of the Bucharest passport office turned up and told the members of the delegation that they had to leave the country on an Interflug flight in the afternoon, on the grounds that the purpose of their visit was inconsistent with the "purposes of tourism."

Ibanescu, Radu Attend Albanian Reception

AU2911204788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2001 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/11/1988—On the 44th anniversary of Albania's liberation and of the victorious revolution, Zoi Toska, Bucharest ambassador of the PSR of Albania, gave a reception, on 29 November.

Participating were Deputy Prime Minister Neculai Ibanescu, Constantin Radu, mayor general of Bucharest Municipality, ministers, members of the management of ministries and central institutions, of mass and public organizations, men of letters and the arts and journalists.

Present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Romania, members of the diplomatic corps.

Protest Given to Australian Charge in Belgrade

LD0312184688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1739 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—On behalf of the Yugoslav Government, the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs today vigorously protested and expressed its surprise and dismay in connection with the unilateral and groundless decision by Australia to withdraw its permission for the SFRY Consulate General to operate in Sydney and to declare its personnel personae non gratae.

Drago Mirosic, assistant federal secretary of foreign affairs, summoned Peter Shannon, charge d'affaires at the Australian Embassy in Belgrade, to the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, and conveyed to him our government's protest which stresses that "the decision by the Australian authorities represents an act which is out of tune with the character and level of overall relations between Yugoslavia and Australia and is damaging to the preservation and further development of bilateral relations."

"The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs expressed its regret," says the protest note," that the proposal made by the federal secretary of foreign affairs has not been accepted. It was proposed that the Australian side should give up its demands, which amounted to an ultimatum, and postpone implementing them. By doing this, it is possible for a mutually acceptable solution of problems to be found in direct talks between a high-ranking official of the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs and representatives of the Australian Government, problems which occurred as a result of the attack on the SFRY Consulate General in Sydney on 27 November this year." "The SFRY Government notes again that so far no answer has been received from the Australian Government on the results of the investigation and on what action has been taken, or is intended to be taken, against those responsible for this attack on the SFRY Consulate and its sfaff." It is also noted that no information has been received on measures taken by the Australian authorities to prevent further activity by pro-fascist emigres in Australia, directed both against the SFRY and its official missions and representatives and against the development of stable relations between the SFRY and Australia.

"The SFRY Government stressed again," the protest note says, "that this activity represents an act of terrorism which the entire international community is fighting against, in particular within the UN framework whose members have accepted a series of instruments with the aim of taking efficient measures to oppose international terrorism. It is an obligation of all countries to act in conformity with these documents and standpoints which have been broadly confirmed in international practice.

The SFRY Government emphasizes that the responsibility for the situation which has arisen in Yugoslav-Australian relations is borne by the Australian side and it retains the right to take relevant measures to protect Yugoslav interests and dignity. At the same time, the SFRY Government is ready to start settling Yugoslav-Australian relations when the Australian Government, by meeting its legitimate needs, manifest its readiness to do so," the Yugoslav note concludes.

Sydney Consulate Staff Departs

LD0412120288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Sydney,a 4 Dec (TANJUG)—The expelled diplomats and administrative personnel of the Yugoslav Consulate General in Sydney, which was closed down last Friday by the Australian Government, today left Sydney for Belgrade on a regular JAT flight. [passage omitted]

Secretariat Reacts to Arrest of Consul in U.S

LD0212173988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has expressed "extreme surprise about the report on the arrest of Bahrudin Bijedic the SFRY consul-general in Chicago". The statement issued by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs stresses that it does not yet have at its disposal the necessary facts, but that it is in constant contact with the appropriate bodies in the United States.

The statement by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs also says that a demarche has been lodged with the State Department and that explanations and additional information are expected.

"Yugoslavia consistently adheres to the standpoint that all its diplomatic and other officials abroad must consistently follow the international legal norms and the laws of the country where they are serving and behave strictly in line with the functions which they discharge," the Federal Secretariat statement concludes.

New York Bank Branch 'Legal'

LD0212152588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1356 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 2 (TANJUG)—In a talk with reporters today Metod Rotar, president of Ljubljanska Banka, denied that chairman of the bank's New York subsidiary Vinko Mir and Ljubljanska Banka were involved in transactions to launder money earned from drug trafficking. Rotar was citing statements by president of Ljubljanska Banka New York subsidiary Vlada Sotin."

The U.S. Federal Court in Philadelphia last night indicted Yugoslav Consul General in Chicago Bahrudin Bijedic, chairman of the board of Ljubljanska Banka subsidiary in New York Vinko Mir and U.S. citizens Hubert Francis Cole, Vjekoslav Spanjol and Larry Card on charges of laundering some 1.5 million dollars of illicit money.

Rotar said that U.S. police agents were at the New York offices of Ljubljanska Banka yesterday to inspect three reports believed to have served in the transfer of the money and established that everything was carried out in compliance with U.S. laws.

It was established, said Rotar, that Ljubljanska Banka in New York possessed valid documents for all money transfers exceeding 10,000 U.S. dollars as required by the law. The law requires no reports to be filed for the transfer of sums under 10,000 dollars.

Ljubljanska Banka New York subsidiary was subsequently allowed to continue operations and Vinko Mir was released on a 100,000-dollar bail.

Two experts of Ljubljanska Banka are shortly to leave for New York to determine the state of affairs at the subsidiary, said Rotar.

Kosovo LC Asks For Unity To Overcome Problems

LD0312213588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Pristina, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—A session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium today discussed a report about recent gatherings and protests by citizens of Albanian nationality. The report will be discussed at a session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee scheduled for tomorrow, 4 December. The Provincial Comittee will comprehensively discuss the causes and consequences of these events and it will establish directions for further activities.

The Presidium assessed that as a result of mass gatherings by citizens of Albanian nationality, the entire situation in Kosovo has become more strained, and that intensive political work is needed in all working and living environments. A worsening of disrupted intranational relations would reflect negatively on not only the political situation in Kosovo, but on the entire political situation.

It was also stated that a further polarization of people on a national basis could produce negative consequences on the already unfavorable political situation in Kosovo, and that at this moment building unity with regard to the most important questions of implementing party tasks is of crucial importance.

It was stated that it is necessary to act with unity in halting negative currents, to renew trust among people, and to overcome intranational division, to which the forthcoming session of the Provincial Committee should contribute significantly. It was stressed at the Presidium session that the Kosovo LC, in the struggle to politically stabilize the situation in Kosovo, will continue to start its action to develop socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity, and togetherness in Kosovo from the LCY political platform, from the documents of the 13th LCY congress, and from the conclusions of the ninth, 16th, and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee. Only in this way will a joint front of all communists in Kosovo become stronger in the struggle to overcome the overall unfavorable situation in Kosovo, the statement says.

LC Meeting Progresses Slowly

LD0412203788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1950 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Pristina, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—Only half of the 50 registered speakers spoke during the first 8 hours of the extraordinary session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee which is assessing the mass gatherings and demonstrations of Albanians 15 days ago. It seems quite likely that the provincial plenum will not only last late into the night but will have to be finished in the morning.

The great interest in this session is shown by the attendence of about 200 journalists, photojournalists, and television camermen from over 30 Yugoslav newsrooms. The streets of Pristina are empty as people have gone home to follow radio and television programs dedicated to the plenum.

Further on Meeting

LD0412120988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1136 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Pristina, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—The special session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, convened in connection with massive rallies and protests of citizens of Albanian nationality which took place in the province 17-21 November, began in Pristina today. A report by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium on these events will provide the basis for the debate at this plenary meeting of Kosovo communists.

Dusan Ilic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, is attending the Provincial Committee session today.

A special working group was set up at the beginning of the session. Its task is, following the introductory report by Djumret Seljmani and the discussion, and on the basis of any possible observations and suggestions, to flesh out the proposed report by the provincial party Presidium on the latest events in Kosovo.

Meeting Adopts Report

LD0512093288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0317 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Pristina 4 Dec—The special session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo concluded at 0330 this morning after almost 16 hours of discussion. During the session, "The Report on Mass Rallies and Protests of Citizens of Albanian Nationality During the Period 17-21 November, With Preliminary Assessments" was adopted. Only three provincial committee members did not vote in favor of the report.

Fifty-five people took part in the discussion, and there was a complete polarization among the members of this top Kosovo Party body on the assessment of the nature and causes of the recent protests. The assessments ranged from the belief that these protests represented "a democratic awakening of the people" to specific claims that they were the continuation of the counterrevolutionary demonstrations of 1981.

The last 2 hours of the Provincial Committee plenum debate was focused on whether or not to adopt the aforementioned report, which was said to represent a preliminary assessment while a comprehensive analysis on the recent events in Kosovo will be drawn up together with LCY Central Committee and organs of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Kosovo Polje Communists Denounce Demonstrations

AU2611203988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] This evening, the Presidium of the Action Conference of the LC of the 16th and the 17th local communities in Kosovo Polje fully supported the assessments of the Presidium and the Presidency of Serbia and of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia on the demonstrations by the Albanians in Kosovo. Milivoje Mihailovic reports:

It was demanded that this assessment be accepted by the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee as soon as possible. It was demanded of the highest party organ in the country that it should establish its own responsibility for the situation in the province after the 5-day mass demonstrations by the Albanians. It was also insisted that the LCY Central Committee should urgently intervene in a consistent implementation of the 17th plenum conclusions, especially point nine that refers to the determination of responsibility by the Kosovo leadership.

It was assessed this evening that the demonstrations last week had a counterrevolutionary background, because they were directed toward blocking the constitutional changes in the republic and preserving the statehood of the province. It was said that the Albanian separatists derive the greatest benefit from these demonstrations, because the interethnic gap has been widened, and the remaining Serbs and Montenegrins have lost their hope that joint life in Kosovo is possible.

The question was also asked as to why the Albanians were not so skillfully mobilized in actions to implement the conclusions of the party plenums, but only now when the Kosovo leadership which failed in the implementation of these tasks needs support. Attention was also drawn to the dangerous phenomenon of discrediting distinguished fighters against the counterrevolution in the ranks of the Albanians.

Montenegro Party Chief Radovic Interviewed

AU0212110188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Nov 88 p 5

[Interview with Dr Miljan Radovic, president of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium, by Manojlo Vukotic: "Nothing Can Be the Same as It Was"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Vukotic] The fall rallies in Montenegro were, above all, an overflowing of the dissatisfaction caused by the very serious material situation and lack of prospects for the future, but also by the abuse of self-management and inconsistency in the party. The Kosovo drama was certainly the catalyst.

[Radovic] The protest meetings were the most major political events in the last decades in our country. In the long term, these dramatic gatherings of working people and citizens will leave a strong stamp on political trends and development in the republic and the country. Because of this, our attitudes to them cannot be characteristic of political practice so far. The extent of the lessons of these events for socialist self-managing forces must really be great and historical. It is possibly necessary to learn some of these things immediately and to carry out political and other action without hesitation on the basis of them. There will be deeper assessments and lessons after a comprehensive and objective analysis has been made of everything that happened in Montenegro and had the character of a strong and not only sociopolitical but also moral, deep social disturbance. After all, the events in Titograd, Niksic, and other places, politics, social relations, the work of the institutions of the system, associated labor, the action of the subjects of society, and the conduct of individuals cannot be the same as they have been until now!

An avalanche of sociopolitical pressure for a quick change in the situation was unleashed due to the people's fury at the long-term crisis, the serious economic and political situation in the republic, the long postponement

in resolving many major problems in the country, primarily the Kosovo drama, the hardships of existence, and the impotence of working people to more directly influence the creation of policy and important social decisions.

The Important Lesson of the Rallies

[Vukotic] What is perhaps the most serious and most direct lesson which must be immediately "learned by heart"?

[Radovic] In the protest meetings, the political leaderships most directly faced the facts and truths (which until then were not familiar to us) that the institutions of the political system are very sluggish and do not function according to the Constitution and laws. Because of their long years of forum work, communication on paper with its membership, and an absence of feeling for the mood of people, sociopolitical organizations have brought themselves into a situation where they have become blocked and isolated.

[Vukotic] The LC was also caught out.

[Radovic] Its institutional and political symbiosis with the state blunted the LC's edge as a workers class and revolutionary organization and, objectively speaking, forced it into an area where the vanguardism of its action among workers, among the people, was covered by ineffectual sessions of LC organs, programs rich in topics and numerous conclusions, and a very meager balance sheet of concrete results of its action. The entire political work, which is virtually entirely overburdened with cliches, formalism, abundant production of material which is used to describe the situation, without more developed communication through the living word, without open encounters with people, their real problems, and original views and demands, has failed.

[Vukotic] Some supposed protectors, patrons, and supervisors of Montenegro have appeared to want to "protect" it. In recent days, Janez Stanovnik has come forward as one of these.

[Radovic] The strongest, most powerful internal force in the defense of the achievements of the socialist revolution and even in the protection of the SR of Montenegro is made up of the Montenegrin people and other peoples who live in the republic, the workers class in Montenegro, the subjective socialist forces, and Communists. They have been creating and have created Montenegro and I am convinced that they are the only force that can protect it (if need be) and develop it further within the framework of a socialist self-managing and federal community. Therefore, we have not sought the support of anyone. Not even of those who have at this political moment expressed support on a principled basis. Montenegro, in particular, has not needed protectors and guardians, regardless of their motives, like Comrade Janez Stanovnik. In line with this, this means that neither Montenegro nor the Montenegrin party representatives took part in the creation of any coalition which would protect or destroy another. We have never involved ourselves in these games. That is not in the nature of our national soul.

[Vukotic] For all their good characteristics and useful messages, the meetings were seasoned with a nationalist flavor, messages, and demands more than ever before. Montenegro is a very special case: It gave birth to two nationalisms within one nation, Montenegrin and greater Serbian nationalism. How can one draw a line between them (if this can be done at all)? How can one defeat them?

[Radovic] I would not say that the meetings were seasoned in this way more than ever before because such meetings did not happen in Socialist Yugoslavia before. This is a new phenomenon in our socialist practice. This also explains the surprise mentioned earlier. However, it is more than obvious that they were seasoned with nationalist messages and feelings.

Nationalism in Montenegro is the common denominator of all anti-socialist and anti-communist forces. The specific nature of the Montenegro case is indeed reflected through the fact that two mutually exclusive nationalisms, the Montenegrin and the Serbian nationalisms, emerged from within one nation. Montenegrin nationalists support the view on the existence of the Montenegrin nation even when there are no socio-historic conditions for the birth of the nation. They deny the ties with the Serbian nation, its history, and culture. They are characterized by very uncritical attitudes toward Montenegrin tradition, the idolatry of tribal-patriarchal morals, isolation, and narrow-mindedness, and by a basically non-Marxist approach toward the nation. The Montenegrin LC Central Committee has publicly assessed these views as untenable from the ideological and theoretical perspective.

Greater Serbian nationalism in Montenegro, and in relation to Montenegro, has become aggressive, particularly in recent times. Greater Serbian nationalists negate the essence of the Montenegrin people, its history, and culture. In some extreme cases it is claimed that the LC "invented" and promoted the Montenegrin nation, and that its affirmation is conducted on an anti-Serbian basis. Nationalist tones from the positions of greater Serbian nationalism escalated at the recent meetings of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, particularly in Niksic and Titograd. Some of the most extreme approaches to the Montenegrin national question even suggest a different system in Yugoslavia and different relations between the peoples and nationalities who live in it. This was confirmed by the latest speech by academician Vlado Strugar in the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts who came up with a "proposal to the Montenegrin nation to think about Serbianism and a possible unification of Montenegro and Serbia."

It would perhaps be worth thinking about and establishing whether in the present political relations, constitutional organization, and the equality of peoples and nationalities, the phrase (term) "great Serbian nationalism" itself has and can have the same meaning as it did when it was created under completely different historic conditions, with the ambitions and plans of that time. It is perhaps sufficient to call it just Serbian nationalism. Similarly, one should also examine whether the unacceptable expression "Montenegrin separatism" has been superseded. Who could today in this Yugoslavia demand an independent Montenegro, and with what political, economic, and other reasons? This kind of separatism is indeed not alive in Montenegro today.

[Vukotic] To what extent did the meetings shake relations between the two republics, Montenegro and Serbia, by stoking these two nationalisms? At the last Montenegrin LC Central Committee plenum much was said about this, even some very sharp words. Is the climate improving? The climate is the precondition for, the foundation of unity in Yugoslavia, and the basis for the two peoples to continue trust, brotherhood, and, comradeship.

[Radovic] It would be a very serious matter if these relations were shaken. Serbia and Montenegro have been tied by many common things for centuries. The strongest tie has been the struggle against the common enemy. Historic reliance of one nation on another, and the rich cultural, economic, and other ties, which have been firmly bonded through the all people's liberation war, cannot be shaken by even much stronger tremors and events in Socialist Yugoslavia. This cannot be done even by the ever alert nationalist "revivers" who are continuously trying to prove who is who, who are trying to impose their nationalist views on others, who are trying to move the soul of the whole nation all the time. Who needs that today? Our people gave their lives for national liberation when it was needed, and the attempts by somebody to "nationally revive" them are funny. It is our tragedy that now, at the threshold of the 21st century, we are turning so much to our past—when the developed world is conducting the third technological revolution—without wondering what our future is going to be like. It is the historic responsibility of the LC of Montenegro and Serbia, as parts of the unified LCY, to analyze and overcome all possible controversial issues concerning mutual relations in view of strengthening brotherhood and unity, unity in the ranks of the LCY and its leaderships, and preserving the fundamental achievements of our socialist revolution.

Deep-Rooted Cadre Renewal

[Vukotic] The Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium submitted its collective resignation. It received a vote of confidence from the Central Committee in a secret ballot. Does this vote of confidence also mean greater responsibility?

[Radovic] After the 2-day discussion at the 17th session which was imbued with a large dose of criticism and self-criticism, LC members expressed their attitude to (their confidence in) their executive political organ in a secret ballot. As far as I know, that is the first time that a party leadership has in this way and under these conditions asked for an opinion to be expressed through a secret ballot of its work and actions. The Presidium saw the vote of confidence mainly as the obligation and responsibility to more persistently and decisively carry out a policy which was confirmed by the Montenegrin LC Central Committee and the 17th and 18th sessions of the LCY Central Committee. We have the firm orientation that it is necessary to carry out essential changes in the method and model of the work of this organ, as well as of the LC, especially in the field of the democratization of relations in the LC, mass political work, and the most direct communication with Communists and workers and, on this basis, ensure that the energy of Communists is directed toward solving the most important questions imposed by modern conditions and the complex situation in Montenegro.

[Vukotic] The republican government also offered its resignation but a large number of ministers did not receive a vote of confidence from the people's representatives. Montenegro is now a state without a government. Well-informed people claim that the former president of the Republican Executive Council does not want to receive the mandate to form the next government at any cost. What are the party and state leaderships doing to overcome and surmount the very complex situation?

[Radovic] The Presidency of the SR of Montenegro which is responsible for this and of course the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium, are taking all necessary measures to preserve continuity in the work of the Executive Council which has in its work so far persistently, responsibly, and effectively taken the necessary measures within its powers in order to overcome the extremely unfavorable socioeconomic situation in Montenegro as quickly as possible in line with the program of economic stabilization and the intentions of the economic reform. The next session of the Assembly scheduled for 21 November will agree on how to specifically resolve the question of the further work of the Republican Executive Council and thus that of its president.

[Vukotic] Is it not more difficult in this situation than in some earlier ones to find new people?

[Radovic] In the present situation, along with the need to more directly take personal and collective responsibility for resolving the very complicated problems and in an atmosphere where some kind of distrust and hostility has been created toward certain institutions of the system and particularly the leaderships—able and mature leaders are less and less interested in taking up responsible work. It is quite certain that without the most capable

cadres that have been created in associated labor, and in scientific institutions, it will be impossible to resolve the present problems successfully.

[Vukotic] Then, how is it possible under these conditions to carry out a more deep-rooted cadre renewal from the party leadership itself to the associated labor basic organizations? This was also expressed the other day by the party republican presidium.

[Radovic] In line with the decision of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee and the conclusions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, the LC Presidium has organized political action to direct a broad and democratic discussion in the LC organizations in the next few months in order to ensure that active and able candidates are nominated and elected in the cadre renewal of both central committees. The basic organizations will put forward specific proposals, the communal committees will sum them up, and all proposals will be considered in the Montenegrin LC Central Committee. We believe that a democratic procedure organized in this way for the nomination and election of new members of the central committees will provide serious cadre revival.

[Vukotic] Are there any forecasts of how many new people could be given new posts, and not only in the two central committees, in order to be able to talk about a real cadre renewal, or revival?

[Radovic] An analysis of confidence in all executive political organs both at the republican and the communal level is under way in the republic. I am convinced that the communal committees and their presidiums will be seriously strengthened as far as their cadres are concerned. We expect that other organs of sociopolitical organizations and sociopolitical communities will do this. We will be able to gather and assess the results at the end of the year. In the near future we will be carrying out the most serious cadre changes that we have ever had.

[Vukotic] Could there also be an extraordinary party congress as was proposed a few days ago by a Radoje Dakic party organization which was seeking the support of all the basic organizations of this collective?

[Radovic] If there are political assessments that such congresses could solve the main socioeconomic and political questions in the country more quickly, then such initiatives should not be quickly rejected. They could even be called unscheduled congresses as is usually done in some communist parties. [passage omitted]

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Titograd Is Not Novi Sad

[Vukotic] It is a widespread thesis that Titograd was supposed to have been a rerun of Novi Sad. It is an even more strongly held opinion that Titograd should not have been like Novi Sad.

[Radovic] Probably there were expectations that the same thing would happen in Titograd as in Novi Sad. Such demands were not made by the workers, nor by the students, when they framed their 13 demands to the republican and federal leadership. It is true that during the second part of the Titograd meeting, demands were voiced for a replacement of the Montenegrin political leadership. However, the essential difference is in comparing and assessing the social and political relationships and situation in Montenegro and Vojvodina. They can be compared with great difficulty because Montenegro is a federal unit in the Yugoslav community. The political leaderships have assessed the far-reaching nature of such an act which would be connected not only to the situation and relations in Montenegro but also to the situation and relations in the SFRY. Such an act—replacing the leadership of a republic in an illegal way—would fundamentally shake the constitutional order in the country and would seriously undermine the political relations in it, with unimaginable consequences. We have been aware of this fact from the very beginning.

The Zuta Greda Sin

[Vukotic] Were the urgent measures nevertheless too hasty and too rash, although the leadership of the federation backed them?

[Radovic] The adoption of the decision to introduce urgent measures to prevent an emergency situation in the Titograd Commune was done neither rashly nor easily, and not without comprehensive assessments of the situation that had arisen, and especially the situation in Titograd. The decision was adopted only on the basis of all the relevant facts necessary for the adoption of such measures. All the assessments indicated that without such measures, the security of people and property would be jeopardized, with unimaginable consequences.

[Vukotic] As much as the intervention by security organs, the issuing of orders in public, the shields, and the tear gas could partially be justified, they all left an unforgettable bad impression. Like a dark shadow, it still looms over Montenegro and its leadership. After all this, after all the facts have been gathered, is there any repentance or withdrawal? Can a different assessment be made?

[Radovic] As regards the decision itself, its nature, and the need to adopt it, both the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro at its 17th session and the Assembly of the SR of Montenegro accepted it as necessary. However, there have been serious objections to the way it was carried out by respective organs, and especially

internal affairs organs. To find out the real facts and the full truth, the Montenegro Assembly set up a special commission which included representatives of workers, students, experts of scientific institutions.... The Montenegro Assembly adopted this report which assessed that basically the powers of the internal affairs organs have not been exceeded.

[Vukotic] What happened at Zuta Greda—where tear gas was used—objectively speaking had and will have serious consequences.

[Radovic] We are all deeply aware of this, and we are convinced that if all the subjects of the system had acted early enough and properly, there would have been no Zuta Greda and no injuries, which will be sincerely regretted.... We all regret it now, although the internal affairs organs who were on duty at the meetings and were highly commended for it, acted within their legal powers on that occasion, too. With the advantage of hindsight many things could be corrected and done better. Let these events support a comprehensive analysis about the manner of activities by the subjects of the system in such complex situations. Let us not forget that such measures were introduced in our country for the first time. I do not ask for an absolution of sins but for an understanding of the situation and the conduct in that situation.

Relations With Serbia

[Vukotic] The assessments have been heard that the Montenegrin LC and the Serbian LC reached an agreement also because it was estimated that Montenegro did not sufficiently or convincingly, and loudly support the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and was even quieter and less conspicuous and "neutral" about Kosovo?

[Radovic] These theses were put forward persistently and maliciously—or out of a lack of sufficient information—a long time ago. The facts are quite different. We were the first in the country to support the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia which would ensure that it functions as a state on all its territory while preserving the autonomy of the provinces. We also did that, among other things, in our Central Committee. There is not one person in Montenegro today who thinks that the present solutions are really unbearable.

As far as Kosovo and the obligations of Montenegro are concerned, we have supported the implementation of LCY stands from the very beginning. We did not compete to see how loudly we would inform the public of our judgement of this, but everywhere it was necessary we were one of the first to patiently, persistently, decisively, and in a principled way, in all organs of the federation, express the view that Kosovo is above all a Yugoslav problem and it is not just a matter for Kosovo and Serbia. We fought resolutely for this view. We devoted two sessions of the Central Committee to the problems in Kosovo, not to mention the sessions of the executive political and state organs.

Who really needs to make these insinuations against the Montenegrin leadership, and through it Montenegro, as regards Kosovo? Who wants to claim that they feel more pain for the sufferings of Montenegrins and Serbs in Kosovo than the Montenegrin people and leader feel? Are such accusations direct grist to the mill of Albanian separatists and nationalists?

In any case, not one of us, unfortunately, can boast about great successes as far as the struggle against the counter-revolution in Kosovo is concerned. If we could, the situation would not be the way it is. Therefore, we firmly hold the view that the complete implementation of the stands of the 9th, 16th, and 17th sessions of the LCY Central Committee should be resolutely provided for without compromise. The Montenegrin LC and Montenegro will contribute everything in their power to this end.

Krsko Nuclear Power Plant Shut Due to Damage

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[Text] Krsko, Dec 3 (TANJUG)—Production once again came to a halt in the Krsko nuclear power plant last night due to a fault in the 21-kW transformer.

The damage was caused by a short circuit between the electric equipment and the earthing which caused a sudden drop in the plant's power output and the shutting down of the 400-kW network supply.

The generator and the transformer were shut down before midnight and preparations are already under way to repair the damage.

The transformer was built on November 30, the last day of the Yugoslav national holiday, to replace the one recently damaged in a storm. The breakdown in Krsko did not affect the operation security of Yugoslavia's only nuclear power plant. According to evaluations by international commissions, Krsko is among the most secure nuclear plants of this kind in the world.

The 632-kW plant has been in operation since the 1970s.